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Tuesday, 22 July 2003, 10 a.m.

New York

President:	Ms. Palacio	(Spain)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Belinga-Eboutou
	Chile	Mr. Muñoz
	China	Mr. Zhang Yishan
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Guinea	Mr. Boubacar Diallo
	Mexico	Mr. Aguilar Zinser
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Russian Federation	Mr. Gatilov
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Negroponte

Agenda

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 24 of Security Council resolution 1483 (2003) (S/2003/715)

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03-43558 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 24 of Security Council resolution 1483 (2003) (S/2003/715)

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq.

It is so decided.

I invite Mr. Vieira de Mello to take a seat at the Council table.

I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 17 July 2003 from the Permanent Representative of Spain to the United Nations, which reads as follows:

> "I have the honour to address you, as President of the Security Council for the month of July, in order to request that Mr. Adnan Pachachi, Mr. Ahmad Chalabi and Ms. Aqeela al-Hashemi, members of the Governing Council of Iraq, be allowed to participate in the Security Council meeting that will take place on Tuesday, 22 July 2003, concerning the item entitled 'The situation between Iraq and Kuwait', in accordance with rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council."

That letter has been published as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/2003/750.

If I hear no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Adnan Pachachi, Mr. Ahmad Chalabi and Ms. Aqeela al-Hashemi to take seats at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 24 of Security Council resolution 1483 (2003), document S/2003/715.

I welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, and I invite him to take the floor.

The Secretary-General: I am delighted that my Special Representative, Sergio Vieira de Mello, is with us today. I am sure I speak for all of us in expressing warm gratitude to him, his staff and all of his team for their outstanding work so far. I should also say a special word of gratitude to the United Nations staff in Iraq — international and national — for their dedicated work in often difficult circumstances.

Let me also welcome the presence here of the representatives of the Iraqi Governing Council; its formation is an important first step towards the full restoration of Iraqi sovereignty.

The Council has before it my report (S/2003/715), which we have sought to make as comprehensive as possible under rapidly changing circumstances. I will leave it to my Special Representative to give a detailed account of his mission so far.

I wish, however, to take this opportunity to reiterate the following fundamental principles underlying the activities of the United Nations under resolution 1483 (2003) — principles which we all share: the need to respect the independence and territorial integrity of Iraq; the need to restore sovereignty to the people of Iraq as soon as possible; the need to respect the Iraqi people's right to determine their political future; the need to respect Iraq's sovereignty over its territory and natural resources; and the need for Iraq to be restored to the position of a full and responsible partner in the international community, at ease with its neighbours.

Resolution 1483 (2003) provides a mandate for the United Nations to assist the people of Iraq in a wide range of areas. In all we do, we need to keep the interests of the Iraqi people at the forefront of our minds. We should listen to their needs, expressed by them in their terms, and we should try to respond. I believe that Sergio Vieira de Mello has been doing precisely that throughout his weeks in Baghdad and his visits to the region.

Our collective goal remains an early end to the military occupation through the formation of an internationally recognized, representative Government. Meanwhile, it is vital that the Iraqi people should be able to see a clear timetable with a specific sequence of events leading to the full restoration of sovereignty as soon as possible.

In practical terms, this means that the establishment of the Governing Council must be followed by a constitutional process run by Iraqis for Iraqis. The United Nations will continue to play an active role in facilitating and supporting the political process, working together with the Governing Council and the Coalition Provisional Authority.

The people of Iraq are anxious for their country to become a stable, democratic and prosperous State. To succeed, they will need the support of their neighbours and the region as a whole. What happens in Iraq does not happen in vacuum. A stable Iraq — one that is at peace with itself and its neighbours — is in our collective interest, particularly that of the region.

That is why I have instructed Mr. Vieira de Mello to engage in an ongoing dialogue with leaders of neighbouring countries and the region. He has already consulted senior officials or heads of State from a number of countries and intends to expand these consultations to include all States concerned. I trust I can count on their cooperation.

The challenge that awaits us in Iraq is enormous. Let us all do our utmost to rise to meet that challenge. We owe no less than that to the Iraqi people.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I now call on Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq.

Mr. Vieira de Mello (*spoke in Spanish*): It is an honour to be briefing the Council today under your stewardship, Madam, only three days after our meeting in Baghdad.

In addressing all present, I wish particularly to greet those three who are in this room representing the Governing Council of Iraq. I am here today to introduce the Secretary-General's report on the work of the United Nations in implementing the mandate accorded it under resolution 1483 (2003). My focus will lie particularly on those aspects of the mandate outlined in operative paragraph 8 of that document.

In this briefing, I shall seek to complement, not duplicate, the text of the report. I shall aim to provide a picture in words of the current situation in Iraq, brief the Council on the latest developments with regard to the political process currently under way and outline those areas in which the United Nations, now and in the immediate future, can help in the implementation of that resolution.

Before I commence my briefing proper, however, let me begin by paying tribute to the extraordinary people of Iraq.

In recent weeks, my colleagues and I have been awed by the evocation of the history of a great country. Babylon was described by Herodotus as far back as 450 BC, when it was already thousands of years old, as being unparalleled in its magnificence. Iraq's contribution to our understanding and appreciation of law, of science and of art — indeed, its contribution to human civilization — has been immense.

This should be and is a source of pride to the Iraqi people — a pride that is today deeply hurt. Iraq is something other than a past repressive regime; it is something other than a pariah State; it is not simply the scene of conflict, deprivation and abuse. It is a country with a singularly rich history. That its immediate past has been so terrible is a tragedy on which we all must reflect. The Iraqi people deserve far more than their recent years have afforded them.

It is the cornerstone of the Secretary-General's approach to the work of the United Nations in Iraq, as outlined in his report to the Council, that everything we do must be for the benefit of the people and country of Iraq; must be decided on by or in consultation with them; and must be aimed at enabling as soon as possible the full restoration of Iraq's full sovereignty and return to the community of nations. The United Nations looks forward, as quickly as possible, to welcoming back one of its founding Members.

(*spoke in English*)

With respect to the political process, for me, on arriving in Iraq at the beginning of June and not being an expert on the country, only the first step was obvious, as the Secretary-General just pointed out. It was to speak with as many Iraqis as possible to find out what it was that they wanted for themselves and how it was that they saw we might be of assistance in realizing these aspirations.

I have thus spent the past weeks travelling the country and meeting with a wide array of Iraqis: politicians, civil society leaders, lawyers, spiritual leaders, doctors, journalists, artists and human rights activists. From my preliminary discussions, a number of consistent themes emerge.

First, they want to see themselves back at the helm of their country. They also want to see the arrival of security and of the rule of law. Equally, Iraqis want to see the restoration of basic services: reliable electricity, clean water, schools back up and running, hospitals functioning and so on. They want to see the establishment of permanent, Iraqi, representative and credible institutions that operate in their service. In all these areas, they — including those who are critical, even resentful of what they perceive to be the United Nations past record in their country — unanimously call for an energetic, centre-stage role for the Organization.

These are the traumas, the anxieties, the aspirations and the frustrations of the Iraqi people with which we all must empathize and to which we must respond if we are to succeed in this endeavour.

The formation on 13 July of Iraq's Governing Council was a significant step towards that goal. As the report of the Secretary-General outlines, that body has been invested with significant executive powers, agreed jointly between the members of the Governing Council and the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), with particular but not exclusive emphasis on foreign affairs, finance, security and the constitutional process. The Governing Council will soon be appointing Iraqi interim ministers and, importantly, designating Iraqi representation in international forums.

We now have an institution that, while not democratically elected, can be viewed as broadly representative of the various constituencies in Iraq. As such, its establishment is a welcome development for the international community and for the United Nations. It means that we now have a formal body of senior and distinguished Iraqi counterparts, with credibility and authority, with whom we can chart the way forward. For decisions of national importance to be authoritative, they must be seen to be the product of Iraqi decision-making of as representative a nature as is possible.

With the formation of the Governing Council, we now enter a new stage that succeeds the disorienting power vacuum that followed the fall of the previous regime. On my return to Baghdad, I intend to sit with the Governing Council to see how best we might develop together the areas of activity the Secretary-General outlined in his report, as well as in any other areas it believes we might be of assistance. It is our firm intention to assist, advise, support and help consolidate this initial embodiment of Iraqi executive authority.

I commend the Iraqi leaders on the Governing Council for their statesmanship in assuming this historic responsibility. I also commend the Coalition Provisional Authority — and in particular Ambassadors Bremer, Sawers and Crocker — for their efforts in seeking to ensure the full implementation of resolution 1483 (2003) as soon as possible. As the Security Council has resolved, the day when Iraqis govern themselves must come quickly. The formation of the Governing Council is a necessary step in that direction. I am thus delighted that the Security Council has the opportunity today to meet formally with Mr. Pachachi, Mr. Chalabi and Ms. Al-Hashemi to hear from that delegation their vision for the transition and beyond.

The process leading to the establishment of the Governing Council was complicated but bears hope for the future. It is truly unprecedented that Iraq is going through the present legal, political and military circumstances. The making of the Governing Council required intense consultations and compromise on all sides. I am convinced that this experience will stand Iraq in good stead in dealing with the many challenges that lie ahead.

Iraq has many fundamental political issues on which to decide, not least determining the process by which a constitution can be drawn up, as well as the timing and precise nature of elections. These will need to be held in order, in the words of resolution 1483 (2003), for an internationally recognized, representative Government to come into being.

For the constitution to be viewed as credible, it is essential that its drafting be an Iraqi-driven process. All are in agreement on that. I thus welcome the Governing Council's intention to make that an early focus of its deliberations. We stand ready, should the Governing Council so desire, to share our experience in this field.

Preparing for elections is a complex, time-consuming matter. I am thus pleased that we will soon welcome to Iraq a visit by the Electoral Assistance Division of the Department of Political Affairs to begin discussion with the Governing Council and the Coalition Provisional Authority on possible electoral frameworks and the resulting calendar. That process cannot begin too soon, not least to serve as a tangible demonstration of intent that full sovereignty is to be restored to Iraq as quickly as possible, and that the current state of affairs is finite.

As the Secretary-General emphasizes in his report, now more than ever, Iraq needs the support of its neighbours. As he just said, immediately prior to my coming here I visited His Royal Highness Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia, in Taif. I also travelled to Damascus and Tehran, where I met with Presidents Al-Assad and Khatami and Foreign Ministers Al-Shara' and Kharrazi, respectively. In late June, I accompanied the Secretary-General to Amman. There, we met with Foreign Ministers Maher, Muasher and Gül — of Egypt, Jordan and Turkey respectively — as well as with Secretary-General Amr Moussa of the League of Arab States. I hope to be visiting those neighbours, as well as Kuwait, on my return to the region.

All were concerned to see resolution 1483 (2003) implemented as quickly as possible. Some were anxious for reassurance that the Governing Council was a truly representative and independent body with genuine executive authority. All, not surprisingly, desired to see a new Iraq at peace with itself and its neighbours, and wished the United Nations to take the lead in achieving that vision.

In turn, I urged all of Iraq's neighbours to play their supportive role to the full, to embrace the Governing Council and to provide it with whatever assistance it may request. As the Secretary-General pointed out, the aim must be to help consolidate Iraq's national unity, territorial integrity, stability and prosperity. In so doing, Iraq's neighbours will contribute significantly to regional and world peace and security.

On the issue of security, the political process — which still has a long way to go — is only one of the challenges currently facing Iraq. As the Council will be aware, security in Iraq remains tenuous. Too many are losing their lives, on an almost daily basis. It is imperative that security, law and order be restored throughout Iraq as soon as possible. Without them, every area of activity will be impacted for the worse.

In the run-up to the formation of the Governing Council, Iraqis cooperating with the Coalition Provisional Authority have been the subjects of attacks. Another disturbing trend has been attacks against Iraqi police. There have been virtually daily attacks on coalition forces, which have been widely reported in the media. In parallel, common law criminality is a major problem, not helped by Saddam Hussain's decision, in October last year, to empty the prisons — with the exception, of course, of political detainees. The potential impact of this violence must not be underestimated. It threatens to undermine confidence in the transition and to shake the resolve of Iraqis committed to leading their country through this very delicate period in its history.

The United Nations presence in Iraq remains vulnerable to any who would seek to target our Organization, as recent events in Mosul — described in the Secretary-General's report — illustrate. Our security continues to rely significantly on the reputation of the United Nations, our ability to demonstrate, meaningfully, that we are in Iraq to assist its people, and our independence. Recent attacks, one fatal, on the International Organization for Migration, are also of great concern. I have just been informed this morning that today in Baghdad a delegate of the International Committee of the Red Cross was killed in an incident south of the capital.

In the current context, the coalition has the primary obligation of restoring and maintaining security, law and order. The Governing Council, too, now has policy prerogatives on matters concerning Iraq's national security. Ultimately, only Iraqis can fulfil that responsibility on behalf of a national authority that enjoys credibility, respect and resources.

Although we cannot be, and do not wish to be, a substitute for the Coalition Provisional Authority in this field, the United Nations stands ready to lend modest assistance, in terms of its expertise, in the area of developing an effective national law and order capacity. We have much training experience in that area, not least in the field of human rights. I would encourage the Coalition Provisional Authority and the Governing Council to make use of it, as well as of those offers to assist with police development that I

have received from a number of Member States and organizations. In the coming weeks, I intend to focus my discussion with the Coalition Provisional Authority and the Governing Council on how best that might be done so as to effectively give life to paragraph 8 (h) of resolution 1483 (2003).

We are also expecting a visit, at the end of this month, from our colleagues at the United Nations Office in Vienna, who will be dispatching an assessment mission to look into how best strategies might be developed to deal with different types of organized crime, and particularly drug smuggling. Again, I was speaking with my colleague Antonio Costa about this matter this very morning.

We also stand ready to offer advice on correctional reform. Establishing a proper prison system that processes detainees in a timely manner and that is in accordance with all human rights obligations is an imperative. We have seconded an experienced senior colleague from the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo to assist in this area.

With regard to humanitarian assistance, United Nations activities did not begin in Iraq with resolution 1483 (2003). For a considerable period of time prior to that much importance was given to this question, and impressive work has been carried out by the Organization in the humanitarian field and in the implementation of the oil-for-food programme.

Immediate humanitarian needs are largely being met in Iraq today. However, there are still outstanding requirements; and more are emerging, particularly in regard to internally displaced persons. The plight of refugees, as highlighted by the recent welcome visit of High Commissioner Lubbers, also needs to be resolved in a measured but comprehensive fashion. Funding for humanitarian requirements in Iraq has, for the most part, been generously provided. Of the $2.2 billion requested in the latest humanitarian appeal launched by the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), almost $2 billion has been pledged or contributed. As the Council knows, of that amount $1.1 billion was provided through the oil-for-food programme, as authorized by resolutions 1472 (2003) and 1483 (2003). An additional $900 million has been provided through voluntary contributions. Nonetheless, additional needs remain largely unmet. The sectors of emergency rehabilitation, health and demining, including the disposal of unexploded ordnance, require particular and urgent support.

With respect to the oil-for-food programme, given the sheer scale of that programme, its completion by 21 November 2003 was always going to be a challenge. With a coordinated and determined effort on all sides, it should nonetheless prove possible. But needs will continue to exist far beyond the handover of the programme, that is, until the economy picks up and reliance on humanitarian assistance declines.

In the centre and south, good cooperation has been established between the Coalition Provisional Authority, the Iraqi line ministries and relevant United Nations agencies. Work is well under way on the prioritizing of contracts. However, it should be noted that the number of contracts being adopted is much higher than initially envisaged because the humanitarian phase has been superseded by rehabilitation and recovery activities much more quickly than anticipated. In the coming weeks, as the elements of the reconstruction plan for Iraq and the 2004 national budget are firmed up in advance of the donors' conference, we can expect that the process already under way will require some fine-tuning.

In the particular case of the three northern governorates, the Coalition Provisional Authority has proposed that the United Nations transfer programme implementation to the Iraqi authorities at both the regional and the central levels, with the Authority providing support and advice at a senior level. We are preparing a strategy for implementing this handover for discussion with the Governing Council and the Authority.

With respect to reconstruction, looking to the future, there are clearly immense reconstruction needs in the short and longer terms, not only as a consequence of the conflict but, maybe even more so, as a consequence of 13 years of sanctions and subsequent neglect and decay. As reflected in resolution 1483 (2003), this reconstruction is not only of a physical nature; it must also include public administration, governance, civil society and all the other vital elements required for a new Iraqi society.

To deal with the diversity and complexity of the situation, from the first day of my time in Iraq I have had in my team representatives from the United Nations Development Programme, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, who have

provided advice to me, as well as to the Iraqis and Authority counterparts. Building on the experience acquired by the United Nations agencies, funds and programmes that have been active in Iraq for years, it has been a superb success and a model of coordination and true integration of United Nations efforts. I thank all the institutions involved for their contribution to this effort. It should become the template for such operations in the future.

At the informal meeting hosted by the United Nations in New York on 24 June — in which some Council members participated, together with an Iraqi-led delegation — the international community expressed clear support for such a reconstruction effort. For that reason, the United Nations, together with the World Bank, is carrying out a number of sectoral needs assessments over the coming months which, in consultation with the Governing Council, will inform a donor conference to be held in the autumn on what Iraq's reconstruction priorities should be.

It will not surprise members to hear that one area in which I am taking a particularly keen interest is that of human rights. There are three particular concerns: how to deal with past abuses; how to ensure that human rights are protected for all Iraqis in the future, with particular emphasis on the rights of women; and how to ensure that human rights are protected and upheld in Iraq today. All merit close attention.

The human rights violations of the past regime in Iraq are well known to all. What is perhaps not so clear is their scale, for that is still emerging. What does seem to be becoming appallingly apparent, however, is that those victims who suffered the ultimate violation – the abuse of their right to life – number in the several hundreds of thousands. One can reasonably suppose that the unlawful incarceration, torture and ill treatment of others took place to at least as horrific an extent.

It is for the people of Iraq to determine how to deal with those challenges. How effectively they do so will significantly affect the extent to which they will be able to achieve harmony for their future. Equally, how effectively they deal with the past will go a long way towards ensuring that such egregious crimes will never again be possible. The past and the future, as always, are inextricably linked.

Many of the issues that are being discussed, in particular the past crimes inflicted on the Iraqi people, will be painful and complex for the people of Iraq to address. Given that, and given the gravity of the crimes in question, I believe there is much merit in considering the establishment of a mixed Iraqi and international panel of experts to consider in detail the options that would best suit Iraq.

The United Nations will continue to facilitate dialogue on those issues and, together with my office in Geneva, lend our experience where required. We also look forward to a visit in the near future by the Special Rapporteur of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights on human rights in Iraq, Mr. Andreas Mavrommatis. I urge the Governing Council to pay particular attention to developing a national human rights action plan to enable Iraqis to deal with the myriad human rights issues in a coordinated and comprehensive manner, including through the possible establishment of an independent national human rights institution. The forthcoming constitutional discussions offer a unique opportunity for integrating such human rights concerns in the elaboration of Iraq's new fundamental law.

Access to information is a major problem for Iraqis today. Currently, there is no national mass media capacity that is seen to be independent, objective and comprehensive. After being denied that right for so long, Iraqis are keen for change. I thus intend to explore with the Iraqi media, as well as with the Governing Council, the possibility of assisting — as we have done elsewhere — in the establishment of a national, independent and impartial news radio station, together with international donors and non-governmental organizations. Clarity and certainty of information will be essential if peace of mind is to be achieved and frustrations allayed.

Today, Iraq finds itself in an awkward situation: a post-conflict situation, but with hostilities occurring every day; awash with weapons, many legitimately present, many more not; and under military occupation. In this tense context, the protection of human rights inevitably becomes a concern. Iraqis have raised with me their current fears and anxieties in this regard, which the Secretary-General has reflected in his report. Likewise, human rights non-governmental organizations are playing a critical and helpful role in monitoring current developments.

I have raised with Ambassadors Bremer and Sawers concerns regarding searches, arrests, the treatment of detainees, the duration of preventive

detention, access by family members and lawyers and the establishment of a central prison database. They have been receptive and have provided me with responses on action being taken to address and resolve all those questions. Last Friday, with Ambassador Bremer and his senior colleagues dealing with the police and correctional services, I visited the main Iraqi detention complex at Abu Ghraib, which is currently under rehabilitation, as well as a nearby camp where detainees are temporarily being held. That afforded a further opportunity to review all such concerns with relevant officials.

In short, I have expressed the imperative need — and the Coalition Provisional Authority has agreed, of course — for the coalition forces to demonstrate through their actions the importance of exemplary compliance with international humanitarian and human rights law. Anything less must not prevail in today's Iraq.

(*spoke in Spanish*)

By way of summing up, let me make the following comments on what remains to be done and how the United Nations might help.

First, I believe that the Governing Council possesses credible executive authority and that it is broadly representative of the various constituencies existing in Iraq.

Secondly, for it to succeed, the Governing Council will need the full support of the international community and of the Iraqi people, whose trust and respect it will need to earn anew each day. It must be empowered to deliver tangible improvements to the welfare of the population while not becoming the object of criticism because of the legal obligations of the Coalition Provisional Authority in the current situation.

Thirdly, there will need to be a clear timetable, laid out as soon as possible, for the earliest possible restoration of Iraqi sovereignty. I have stressed that point before, but it is worth repeating. Iraqis need to be aware that the current stage of affairs will soon come to an end. They need to know that stability will be restored and that the occupation will end. The articulation of a clear timetable with definite milestones will afford them that comfort and will contribute to stabilizing the situation.

Fourthly, I believe that we have reason to be optimistic about the future of Iraq. But we have little margin for error. The situation remains fragile. Iraqis know better than anyone how, when and at what pace to proceed in their own country. Our greatest contribution will be to follow their lead and, when necessary, to assist them in achieving consensus among themselves. Finally, as I mentioned earlier, the Authority must exercise its leadership to provide security and restore law and order.

How can the United Nations help? Resolution 1483 (2003) provides considerable scope for the United Nations to play an effective role in Iraq. It is not a clear mandate, but at the same time the situation in Iraq is exceptional, and therefore it requires an exceptional approach. The lack of clarity allows for the United Nations role in Iraq to emerge and develop as the situation on the ground evolves. The report of the Secretary-General indicates a number of areas in which the United Nations can assist and proposes a structure that should be constantly reviewed as the oil-for-food programme comes to an end and as humanitarian activities wind down and reconstruction needs grow. During this new stage of United Nations participation in Iraq, particular attention will be paid to recruiting and developing the capacity of national staff.

In short, the report emphasizes that we must be flexible and able to respond quickly to calls for assistance when they arise. It also points out that implementation of the mandate will be a work in constant progress, with some guidelines that we will develop in the short term and others that will naturally emerge at a later date.

What the United Nations cannot do is replace the Coalition Provisional Authority. Nor should it ever replace the rightful role that Iraqis must play in shaping the future of their country. What the United Nations can do is help build consensus among Iraqis and between Iraqis and the Coalition Provisional Authority.

We have tentatively developed some areas of our programme of action. The reform of key institutions and the establishment of electoral and constitutional processes, for example, are essentially political undertakings with serious implications for the future of Iraq. It is therefore essential that the Iraqi population set the agenda and that the United Nations then support its implementation, as it may be required. For that

reason, much of our plan has yet to be written and will have to be discussed with the Governing Council.

Before the end of the year, it is the Secretary-General's intention, as indicated in his report, to put in place a team of experts under the overall coordination of his Special Representative. They will be able to respond effectively to requests for assistance that we have received and that we expect to receive. I wish to thank my colleagues and my team in the United Nations Office of the Humanitarian Coordinator in Iraq and the Secretariat for having ensured that these first weeks of our work under resolution 1483 (2003) have proceeded without major delays.

I wish to make a final comment. Many Iraqis with whom I have spoken have expressed a sense of betrayal: that the international community did not sufficiently recognize their plight. I believe that we owe a debt to the people of Iraq, and that the best way of honouring it is through our words and deeds and through our commitment to support the rehabilitation of their country now and in the future. As the Secretary-General said, the people of Iraq deserve no less.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank Mr. Vieira de Mello for his comprehensive statement.

I call on Mr. Adnan Pachachi, the head of the delegation of the Governing Council of Iraq.

Mr. Pachachi (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, I wish to express deep gratitude to the Council for having invited us to participate in this historic meeting. My special thanks go to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, and to his Special Representative for Iraq, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, and their colleagues for their efforts regarding the situation in Iraq and the country's future. We shall take into account their valuable remarks and their constructive proposals.

It is indeed a great pleasure and honour for me and for my two colleagues, Ms. Aqeela al-Hashemi and Mr. Ahmad Chalabi, to appear before the Security Council on behalf of Iraq and the interim Governing Council, of which we have the honour of being members.

Our homeland has rid itself of the oppressive tyrannical regime that oppressed our people for three decades, usurped our freedom, eroded our dignity and exercised the worst forms of oppression, as demonstrated by the mass graves now being discovered across the country. Despite their ongoing suffering, frustration and oppression due to current security and living conditions, which have not improved as quickly as we had hoped, the people of Iraq have finally had a taste of the freedom that had been denied them for so many decades. The Iraqi people will never return to a society based on fear and injustice. Iraqi citizens can now express their views and articulate their aspirations freely.

A State marked by the intelligence services, mandatory arrests and random executions has ended, never to return. The Iraqi people consider our participation in this meeting to be clear and explicit recognition of Iraq's sovereignty, which the Council emphasized in the second preambular paragraph of its resolution 1483 (2003). The Governing Council was established as the embodiment of the nation's determination to preserve Iraq's sovereignty, safeguard its unity and territorial integrity, achieve a better future for its people and reconstruct its social fabric, following the disintegration of all values and social cohesiveness and the undermining of national unity in that dark era.

The Governing Council — which represents the full spectrum of Iraqi society and whose members have been chosen as a result of painstaking and extensive consultations among Iraqi personalities of various religious, ethnic and political affiliations — was assisted, during the intensive negotiations that preceded the formation of the Council, by representatives of the Coalition Provisional Authority and by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, in keeping with operative paragraph 9 of resolution 1483 (2003). We wish to place on record our sincere gratitude to all of them for their efforts.

Resolution 1483 (2003) did not set out in a clear and precise manner the functions of the interim administration. This flexibility in the scope of the resolution allowed a certain latitude for expansion of the powers of the Governing Council so that all aspects of government could be covered. All of our proposals in this regard have been fully responded to.

Our primary goal, which we will continue to bear in mind, is to shorten the duration of the interim administration period and put together an elected Government under a constitution to be endorsed by the population in free elections. The elections should be

open to all, and the people should be able to express their opinions freely.

The draft Constitution will be examined by a constitutional congress representing all political, social and religious groups. The Governing Council will prepare for that conference by determining the best way to ensure the participation of representatives and to take the necessary legislative action as well as other measures to facilitate its operations, including in the areas of electoral law, population census, electoral register, organization of political parties and other questions relating to freedom of expression and freedom of assembly. The United Nations, given its expertise and experience, could help us to draw up this legislation.

The Constitution, much-awaited by the Iraqi people, will put in place a democratic, pluralistic and federal system that safeguards people's basic rights; consolidates the rule of law in an independent judiciary system; ensures the peaceful handover of power through free elections; places the armed forces under the authority of the elected administration; and gives women full rights on the basis of equality.

In brief, we look forward to the creation of a civil society that believes in personal freedom as a premise for governance and rejects totalitarian systems, which have brought only misery and destruction to our people.

Let me touch on some of the pressing issues to be addressed by the interim Governing Council. This list, however, is not exhaustive.

First, there is a need to appoint ministers, to fill vacancies in Government agencies and ministries, and to appoint competent personnel who were not implicated in any crimes committed by the previous regime.

Secondly, Iraqi embassies abroad must be reopened so that they can carry out their regular functions. Representatives of foreign Governments must be received, and Iraqi representatives appointed to international organizations, first and foremost to the United Nations. Iraq will then work to improve relations with neighbouring Arab countries, its other neighbours and the international community at large.

Iraq will require tremendous assistance in all areas in order to rebuild its economy, modernize its industrial sector, reform its educational system, improve its sanitation services and provide basic necessities to all its citizens. There is no doubt in my mind that the United Nations and its specialized agencies will have an important and vital role to play in all these areas.

Thirdly, one of the primary functions of the Governing Council is to ensure security and stability and to establish institutions that can rebuild the national police and the national army and enable them to preserve stability and security in Iraq. The police and the army should be used to eliminate those destructive elements and saboteurs who continue to impede the national development process and to undermine the interests of the civilian population.

Fourthly, there should be a re-examination of the legislation enacted by the previous regime — legislation that enabled it to tighten its control over the country. The judiciary system, which was destroyed by the previous regime, should be reformed.

Fifthly, special tribunals should be constituted in order to bring to justice those who committed criminal acts under the former Iraqi regime, so that they will stand trial for their humanitarian crimes against the Iraqi people. Such tribunals will prosecute accused criminals. We have asked a special group of Council members to present proposals regarding the formation of these special tribunals.

Iraq's national economy must be revived, and projects must be undertaken that provide jobs for the unemployed; alleviate the poverty of a large segment of society, a large percentage of which is still living below the poverty line; promote justice and fairness in the distribution of national wealth; and consolidate political freedom as the economic situation improves.

We will work to ensure that every individual benefits from Iraq's tremendous national assets through the creation of a special fund, and we will ensure compensation for victims of forced displacement and for people whose property was confiscated by the bloodthirsty regime of Saddam Hussain.

The Governing Council has taken several decisions that will enable it to begin implementing this ambitious programme. With regard to security, the Council has decided to employ at least 30,000 Iraqi police officers, to train them, to provide them with equipment and to pay them adequately. The Council has decided also to establish, as expeditiously as

possible, at least 1,500 schools and clinics throughout Iraq.

Also in the context of the economy, all salaries, including back pay, will be paid, and we will start a programme to reabsorb more than 200,000 demobilized soldiers into the civil society employment sector, especially in the public works and construction sector. The Governing Council will examine the budget with a view to satisfying the needs of the population, reform the currency system and issue a new currency in order to provide citizens with purchasing power. The contribution of the United Nations and its specialized agencies in that endeavour will be extremely important.

The challenge that is facing us is enormous. The responsibilities of the Governing Council are many, difficult and diverse. The important responsibility borne by the members of the Council cannot be overstated. We need the Iraqi people to fully support us. We will have to demonstrate to them our credibility and merit if we are to lead them in this historic process.

Speaking personally, I would like to say that I am optimistic. The Iraqi people have demonstrated their ability to coexist in harmony and tolerance, and we will make every possible effort to overcome the difficulties that we face. We are counting on the support of the Council in restoring Iraq to its proper position within the international community.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank Mr. Adnan Pachachi, head of the delegation of the Iraqi Governing Council, for his statement.

I shall now give the floor to the members of the Council.

Mr. Wehbe (Syrian Arab Republic) (*spoke in Arabic*): We are delighted to see you, Madam, presiding over this meeting of the Security Council on the situation in Iraq. I should like to thank the delegation of Spain for its efforts to facilitate the convening of this important meeting. We are also pleased to welcome the Secretary-General, as well as his Special Representative for Iraq, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, and his team. I would like to inform him that Syria attaches enormous importance to the role that the United Nations is expected to play in Iraq in the framework of the implementation of the provisions of Security Council 1483 (2003), particularly in ensuring, as soon as possible, the restoration of Iraq's independence and sovereignty and its control over its natural wealth and resources.

The Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Vieira de Mello, visited the Syrian Arab Republic on 16 July 2003, when he had the opportunity to acquaint the leadership of the Syrian Arab Republic with the efforts that the United Nations is making in Iraq in order to restore security and stability and pave the way for democratic elections so as to establish an Iraqi Government that would restore Iraqi sovereignty, maintain Iraq's unity and end the occupation of its territory.

The President of the Syrian Arab Republic, President Bashar Al-Assad, made it very clear that, as a Member of the United Nations, as an elected member of the Security Council and as an Arab country neighbouring Iraq, Syria is genuinely concerned about Iraq's future, its independence and its territorial integrity. Syria holds dear the freedom, liberty and dignity of the Iraqi people. He stressed that Syria will support all steps taken by the United Nations leading to the end of occupation and to control by the Iraqi people of its own affairs.

The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic has examined the report of the Secretary-General (S/2003/715) — his first report to the Security Council pursuant to paragraph 24 of resolution 1483 (2003). In this regard, I would like to express our appreciation for the efforts being made by the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, and his Special Representative, Mr. Vieira de Mello, and his team, to implement the provisions of resolution 1483 (2003) pertaining to the United Nations role in Iraq.

It is important to highlight some of the paragraphs of that resolution, which make up elements of the framework of the mandate of the Secretary-General's Special Representative — particularly those relating to the coordination of assistance for humanitarian purposes and reconstruction, as well as to efforts being made to restore and establish the necessary local and national institutions required for ensuring representative governance of the Iraqi people, including efforts made to assist in the process leading to the establishment of an internationally recognized representative Iraqi Government.

Our delegation has considered the aspirations and challenges facing the work of the United Nations and the international community in Iraq. Indeed, the

Secretary-General, in the very first paragraph of the report, as well as in subsequent paragraphs, states that the interests of the Iraqi people — especially the restoration, as soon as possible, of Iraq's sovereignty — is one of the most important elements. He also states that Iraqis have stressed to him that democracy cannot be imposed from outside, but that it must stem from the aspirations of the Iraqi people and their genuine choices. The delegation of Syria agrees in this respect with the Secretary-General and his Special Representative.

We would also like to express our appreciation to Mr. Vieira de Mello for the efforts that he has been making to end the suffering of the Iraqi people. They have suffered as a result of the sanctions imposed by the Security Council for well over a decade. We also agree with the comments of the Secretary-General in paragraph 20 of his report. He states: "Those Iraqis with whom my Special Representative has met have emphasized that Iraqis themselves must conduct the constitutional process ...". That is, indeed, correct. That paragraph also states that Iraqis feel strongly that the constitutional process should be determined by elections.

Furthermore, the substance of paragraph 23 of the report deserves attention and support. That paragraph states that the Authority ought to "devolve real executive authority to a broadly representative and self-selecting Iraqi leadership, including in policy- and decision-making, and in the preparation and execution of a budget".

The report also takes up the formation of the interim authority in Iraq in the current situation. My delegation wishes to stress that the Governing Council should work in accordance with the wishes of the Iraqi people by strengthening national unity, speedily establishing an elected national Government and ending the occupation as soon as possible. Any assessment of the actions of that Council will be based on the steps it takes to serve the Iraqi people and to maintain relations of good-neighbourliness with its neighbours and brothers.

The Secretary-General's concluding observations in his report are fully in line with the role of the United Nations and views thereon, particularly when he cites his Special Representative as conveying to all concerned

> "the Security Council's resolve that the day when Iraqi's govern themselves must come quickly" (*ibid., para. 105*)

and as stressing

> "the Security Council's call for a government based on the rule of law that affords equal and justice to all Iraqi citizens without regard to ethnicity, religion or gender". (*ibid.*)

We cannot but agree with the conclusions of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, expressed later in the report, with respect to the importance

> "that Iraqis are able to see a clear timetable leading to the full restoration of sovereignty" (*ibid., para.107*)

and stressing the

> "pressing need to set out a clear and specific sequence of events leading to the end of military occupation". (*ibid.*)

Allow me also to thank the Special Representative once again for his readiness to assist in establishing such a framework in cooperation with all parties concerned.

As to the "regional dimension" referred to in paragraph 108 of the report, we believe it to be extremely important. It is, indeed, thus described in the report. It is essential that cooperation be established with Iraq's neighbours, as the Secretary-General emphasizes, because Iraq cannot be isolated from its brothers or neighbours. We convey our appreciation once again to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for all their efforts in that regard.

Our brothers, the people of Iraq, who are linked to Syria by ties of geography, blood, history, culture and common interests, have experienced many years of darkness. They are well aware that Syria stood by them in their time of suffering and that their pain was ours. For decades, Syria has hosted tens of thousands of Iraqis victimized by oppression, repression and the consequences of siege. On the occasion of this Security Council debate on the situation in Iraq, Syria today reiterates its expression of concern for the future, independence and territorial integrity of Iraq and the freedom and dignity of its people.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic for his words of appreciation for my country.

Mr. Zhang Yishan (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): At the outset, I welcome you, Madam, and thank you for your personal presence in New York to preside over today's important meeting.

The Chinese delegation wishes to thank Secretary-General Kofi Annan for his recent report on Iraq and for the supplementary briefings which he and his Special Representative, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, delivered earlier.

We listened attentively to the Secretary-General's statement, which drew a very clear picture of the current situation in Iraq and the aspirations of the Iraqi people and provided a concise summary and explanation of what should be done in that country. It reflected his usual wisdom and vision, and I wish to place on record my highest appreciation of and support for it.

I also wish to thank Special Representative Vieira de Mello and his team for their efforts and hard work. We also acknowledge the statement made by the representative of the Iraqi Governing Council, Mr. Pachachi.

Over the past two months, Mr. Vieira de Mello, acting under the mandate of Security Council resolution 1483 (2003), has opened extensive contacts with various Iraqi sectors and other relevant parties and has heard their views on the reconstruction of their country. He has provided us with important information for a comprehensive and objective understanding of the situation in Iraq and of the aspirations of the Iraqi people.

In his report, the Secretary-General has made many useful recommendations for the way forward. We highly appreciate the valuable contributions of the Secretary-General and Mr. Vieira de Mello. I wish to reiterate that the Chinese Government shall continue to support them in implementing recent Security Council resolutions.

In the Secretary-General's report and the supplementary briefings given by him and Mr. Vieira de Mello, three points in particular have drawn our attention.

First, the Iraqi people ardently hope to see their sovereignty and self-government restored as soon as possible. Secondly, the security situation in Iraq remains unstable and economic reconstruction will be an arduous and long-term task. Thirdly, the United Nations can and should play an active role in the course of reconstruction. China wishes to state its views with particular focus on these areas.

First, we fully understand the powerful aspirations of the Iraqi people to being masters of their own country. We wish to see the earliest possible formation of a broadly representative interim administration, supported by the Iraqi people. We favour the early launching of a constitutional process run by and for Iraqis. The Iraqi Governing Council was established a week ago. We welcome this development and share the Secretary-General's view that

> "it is important that Iraqis are able to see a clear timetable leading to the full restoration of sovereignty". (*S/2003/715, para. 107*)

We look forward to the day when Iraq will be reintegrated into the international community with a new look as an independent and sovereign member pursuing a policy of good-neighbourliness.

Secondly, we are deeply concerned about the security situation in Iraq and its negative effects on the restoration of normal life for the Iraqi people and on the international humanitarian relief endeavour. Achieving security and stability in Iraq is undoubtedly a very important and urgent task. Security is closely linked to reconstruction and development. We hope that, with the efforts of the parties concerned, law and order in Iraq will be restored and the security situation will be improved as soon as possible.

After suffering from years of economic sanctions and the scourge of war, Iraq now faces the arduous and complex task of reconstruction. An effective response to those challenges requires the extensive participation and support of the international community. In that regard, the forthcoming international conference on Iraq's reconstruction, which is scheduled for October, is of important significance. We wish the conference fruitful results.

Thirdly, we are in favour of an active and effective role for the United Nations in Iraq's political process and economic reconstruction. Security Council resolution 1483 (2003) has established a good

foundation for this effort. The resolution also reflects the international community's consensus. It should therefore be fully implemented. As pointed out by the Secretary-General, the legitimacy and impartiality of the United Nations is a considerable asset in promoting the interests of the Iraqi people. The recommendations put forward by the Secretary-General in his report with regard to the future role to be played by the United Nations in Iraq's reconstruction are timely and highly important. The Council should give them due attention and careful consideration.

I would like to reiterate that China has always attached importance to Iraq's reconstruction. China was one of the first countries to give humanitarian assistance to Iraq. We will continue to render support to the Iraqi people within our capabilities. We are prepared to work with other members of the international community to help the Iraqi people in their reconstruction efforts and to ensure early achievement of national stability and development.

The Iraqi people have a long history and an ancient culture. Their country is a cradle of civilization. The hard-working, courageous and talented people of Iraq have made important and remarkable contributions to human development in all historical periods. We are confident that — although they face a situation fraught with extremely arduous, complex and difficult challenges — the great Iraqi people will, by their own hand and through their own wisdom, add new chapters of peace, stability, development and prosperity to their history.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank the representative of China for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. De La Sablière (France) (*spoke in French*): I would like to begin by welcoming you, Madam President, and by saying how pleased we are that you have agreed to preside over this important meeting. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his detailed and informative report on the situation in Iraq (S/2003/715) and on the work of the United Nations on the ground pursuant to resolution 1483 (2003). I would also like to warmly thank Special Representative Sergio Vieira de Mello and his entire team, who are working in particularly difficult circumstances. I also wish to welcome Mr. Adnan Pachachi, Ms. Aqila Al-Hashemi and Mr. Ahmed Chalabi, who are members of the recently established interim Governing Council. We have listened very carefully and with great interest to the statement made by Mr. Pachachi, who heads the delegation of the interim Governing Council.

As French Foreign Minister Dominique de Villepin has publicly stated several times in recent days, the position of France is well known, as is the position of the European Union, which was made known yesterday during the Foreign Ministers' meeting of the European Union's General Affairs and External Relations Council. I would simply like to recall a few main points here.

What are our goals? France wants to see the successful political and economic reconstruction of Iraq. Like the Secretary-General, we are convinced that the solution is political rather than military. We want a swift restoration of Iraqi sovereignty. The people of Iraq — who have been left exhausted by two wars, a dozen years under sanctions and decades of political repression and violations of human rights — have suffered enough. It is incumbent upon the international community to help Iraqis once again become masters of their own future, as well as of their resources, without delay.

In that regard, the recent establishment in Baghdad of an interim Governing Council having certain executive and budgetary powers is a first, positive step towards the establishment of a representative and internationally recognized Government to be established by the Iraqi people. Like the Secretary-General, France believes that this body is a partner with whom the United Nations and the international community should be able to work as a first element of Iraq's provisional administration, whose establishment is called for in paragraph 9 of resolution 1483 (2003). The first step must be completed and the process of national and regional dialogue must continue. We welcome the active role played by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in setting up the Council. That is something everyone has appreciated.

How are the goals to be achieved? France fully supports the approach taken by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, in particular with regard to the following five points.

First of all, we agree fully with the Secretary-General's analysis and proposals regarding the political transition, as well as with his resolve to work on respect for human rights as a matter of priority.

Promoting human rights and the rights of women must be at the very heart of the work on State and national reconstruction. The recommendations to draw up a road map and a clear timetable are very relevant, and they should be pursued. The people of Iraq need a visible and credible political prospect in order that they may regain hope and be able to mobilize constructively to ensure a successful political transition. As the Secretary-General has said, "There is a pressing need to set out a clear and specific sequence of events leading to the end of military occupation". (*S/2003/715, para. 107*)

Secondly, we also fully support the approach pursued by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative. That approach is based on inclusive dialogue at the national and regional levels. Only an inclusive approach at the national level will make possible the emergence of a sovereign Government that is legitimate and representative of all Iraqi society, as well as pluralistic and respectful of the rights and freedoms of all. Moreover, as the Secretary-General has stressed, the regional dimension is of great importance. Only a process that involves Iraq's neighbours will make it possible to ensure the emergence of a Government that is accepted and recognized. That is essential to stability in the region.

Thirdly, we agree with the statement made by the Secretary-General on the distribution of roles between the United Nations and the coalition within the framework of resolution 1483 (2003). Within that limited framework, it is the Coalition Provisional Authority and not the United Nations that is given the responsibility for administering Iraq, ensuring the well-being of its population and restoring security and stability in the country.

Fourthly, we fully support the various proposals made by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for the gradual development of the responsibilities of the United Nations. In particular, we support the creation of a United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq and the implementation of a work programme for the remaining part of this year focused on the facilitation of the political transition, the promotion of human rights, humanitarian assistance and the orderly conclusion of the oil-for-food programme. We believe that those activities should be gradually broadened, as the Secretary-General proposes, to include a truly central role for the United Nations in the conduct of the political dialogue and the preparation of a new constitution. That broadened role should also lead to active participation in technical assistance for reform, whether in the area of electoral assistance, the establishment of rule of law or the judicial, administrative and public service sectors. We believe that only the United Nations has the legitimacy, impartiality and expertise necessary for ensuring the effective rehabilitation of the State. It is essential to preserve their independence, which is the guarantee of legitimacy. As the Secretary-General has proposed, the United Nations can also provide excellent counsel for carrying out the demobilization and reintegration of former soldiers, which is crucial for the sustainable stability of the country.

Fifthly, we encourage the Secretary-General to assume an ambitious approach to the role of the United Nations in the process of the economic and financial reconstruction of Iraq. The increased mobilization of the international community involves promoting the transparency of the financial, commercial and economic mechanisms currently being established. We think it is essential that the future International Advisory and Monitoring Board of the Development Fund for Iraq really has the role foreseen for it in resolution 1483 (2003) and has the real power to verify that the Iraqi oil resources are used in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs 13 and 14 of resolution 1483 (2003). We believe that it is equally important that the orderly conclusion of the oil-for-food programme is carried out transparently and efficiently, without discrimination with respect to suppliers. We hope that donor efforts will take place within an appropriate multilateral framework. We support the holding of a donors' conference in October and the idea of creating a special multilateral fund, managed collectively under the aegis of the United Nations Development Programme and the international financial institutions. Finally, it seems essential to ensure that the launching of the process of economic reconstruction, including the rehabilitation of the petroleum sector, is carried out in full respect of relevant international law, in particular the Geneva Conventions and the Hague Regulations.

Resolution 1483 (2003) made it possible to regain the unity of the Security Council. But that resolution remains an imperfect and limited framework. France remains convinced that everyone will benefit from establishing a genuine international partnership and a global approach to the security, political, economic and

social problems that places the United Nations right at the centre of the reconstruction process. We note with interest that the debate and reflections are starting to point in that direction. Prolonged instability and insecurity in Iraq would be harmful for all. We are concerned at the current situation, which has caused the saddening death of American and British soldiers. Winning the peace is in the common interest of Iraqis, the countries of the region, the coalition and the international community as a whole. France will continue, vigilantly and in an open and constructive spirit, to shoulder its responsibilities as a member of the Security Council. The Iraqi people can count on our sense of responsibility and our concern to help reconstruct and rehabilitate their country.

Mr. Muñoz (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): I wish to welcome the presence among us of the Spanish presidency and the Secretary-General and to convey my delegation's gratitude for the detailed briefing on the work carried out by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello. We have listened attentively to the briefings made on the various aspects of the United Nations participation in the reconstruction of Iraq and on the general situation in the country.

The international community has much to contribute to Iraq's development, without, however, losing sight of the responsibility and the primordial right of the country's people in the reconstruction of its political future and the control of its territory and natural resources. For that reason, my delegation fully concurs with the statement by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on the need for Iraq to recover its sovereignty as early as possible, on the basis of a clear and specific timetable.

We believe that it is essential to instil a sense of urgency for laying the foundation for a system of free, democratic and representative Government in Iraq that ensures equal opportunity among its citizens, regardless of race, religion, sex or political beliefs, the establishment of a new economic model that ensures development, based on private initiative; an independent, autonomous and competent judicial system; and a legal regime ensuring the broadest freedom of expression, among other important aspects.

We have taken due note of the establishment of the Governing Council of Iraq and of the statement made before the Council by Mr. Pachachi. We believe that the establishment of the Governing Council in Iraq is a step that should lead to the full restoration of national sovereignty to the Iraqi people. We therefore welcome the appointment of that new executive body, which, although it has not received international recognition, may serve as a tool for involving Iraqi society in the responsibilities of Government and represent a forum for political understanding among the various sensibilities existing in the country. In that regard, we would like to see growing levels of participation in the process of national reconstruction. We particularly welcome the participation of women in the Governing Council; it is a clear sign of the new space opening up for women to participate in the modern Iraq of the twenty-first century.

We believe that a working group should be established as soon as possible to draft the new constitution. At the same time, it will be necessary to make the preparations to draw up an electoral roll so that the Iraqi people will be able to adopt, through a referendum, their new constitution and subsequently to elect the new national authorities.

My delegation is very concerned about the humanitarian and security situation of the Iraqi people: the ongoing lack of basic services, such as the provision of electricity and fuel; the sense of insecurity seen in the streets; and the violent acts by sectors that still do not understand that the political situation in that country has changed. Therefore, we would like to emphasize this point, as well as the need for in-depth restructuring of the national production system and other pressing challenges that will require immediate measures and time for their results to be seen.

The dramatic drop in national income is today evident in that the population now receives one third of the income it did a little more than a decade ago. Furthermore, almost 80 per cent of the population lives in poverty. For those reasons, the need to change the inefficient system of production is clear. We thus support the efforts being made in collaboration with the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme.

The human rights violations committed by the past regime are a painful burden that must be addressed. We appreciate and support the work of United Nations in the field. The extensive and well documented list of human rights violations does not end with the 290,000 forced disappearances and the

growing number of mass graves that have begun to emerge. Perhaps that is only the beginning. Those and other situations will require a long investigative process in the framework of the administration of justice in Iraq.

Despite that, the new Iraqi political authorities must be the ones to decide how to approach those and other painful facts of the recent past. Responsibility for the crimes committed by the previous regime must be established, hopefully soon, within the framework of due process, effectively and on the basis of independent judgement.

To that end, we believe that, as part of its activities in the field, United Nations support for the reform and proper administration of the judicial system will be a priority, along with support for the establishment of national courts to promote and enforce human rights. We note with satisfaction that the first measures have already been adopted in that regard.

The matter of displaced persons under the past regime, together with that of refugees, is particularly complex. In that regard, it is necessary to develop clear and timely policies in order to avoid future conflicts. Here, the United Nations can make a valuable contribution based on its broad experience.

Regarding the oil-for-food programme, which by resolution 1483 (2003) was extended until 21 November 2003, after hearing the briefing, I think that we must pay tribute once again to the Secretariat for the work it is doing, which has made it possible to avoid a major humanitarian disaster by providing the necessary assistance. We also hail the work of United Nations bodies to ensure the orderly and gradual transfer of programme responsibilities to the Coalition Provision Authorities.

Finally, almost daily the media are reporting increasingly well organized incursions by armed groups, which together with acts of sabotage and vandalism are undermining the work of normalizing national life in Iraq.

The stabilization process in Iraq is not taking place with the speed that some perhaps anticipated when resolution 1483 (2003) was adopted. It will thus be necessary to continue with determination and patience, always with the goal of contributing to stabilizing and rebuilding Iraq, and even more important, of striving to effectively enhance the well-being of its suffering people and to help it gain its aspirations to greater freedom and greater social and economic progress.

Mr. Gaspar Martins (Angola): Allow me, first of all, to welcome you, Madam, back to New York and to the Council, as you preside over this very important, historic meeting of the Council. I welcome also the presence of the Secretary-General and, of course, the presence of Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello and of members of the Governing Council of Iraq, Mr. Adnan Pachachi, Mr. Ahmad Chalabi and Ms. Aqeela al-Hashemi. Their presence here is a clear demonstration of the Security Council's resolve to contribute effectively to meeting the immense challenges faced by the Iraqi people and to formulate strategies that will allow the Iraqi people to recover their national sovereignty and to build a future of progress and national concord.

We appreciate the Secretary-General's comprehensive report (S/2003/715), submitted to the Council, particularly because it addresses the important initiatives undertaken by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq with a view to fulfilling the commitments of the Security Council with respect to the very complex situation in Iraq. The overall approach outlined in the report of the Secretary-General to defining the role of the United Nations in Iraq reveals that the tasks ahead are immense and of great complexity. The yearning of the Iraqis for the early restoration of sovereignty and the underlying fact that democracy cannot be imposed from outside are important messages that the international community must take into due account and on the basis of which it must act.

We fully share the view expressed in the report regarding the extreme importance of the regional dimension of the Iraqi issue and regarding the necessity of working with Iraq's neighbours for the recovery and reconstruction of the country. In that connection, we commend the concrete steps outlined to us this morning by Special Representative Vieira de Mello regarding the contacts that have been made with leaders in the region.

The United Nations is particularly well suited to making a decisive contribution to meet the great challenges ahead, and we are confident that the experience of our Organization can be of decisive added value in addressing and helping to resolve the key priority areas of life in Iraq: ensuring future

stability; the political process itself; respect for human rights; the rule of law; national reconciliation; the development of civil society; and economic reconstruction.

The establishment on 13 July of the Governing Council represented a big step forward in the overall task of restoring Iraq to normalcy. The approach taken — one of inclusiveness and participation, reflecting the broad spectrum of Iraqi society — was a very positive one. The next important step is to delegate effective power to the Iraqi interim administration, allowing it to set policies and take decisions.

We encourage the Governing Council to appoint, as soon as possible, a constitutional commission in order to start drafting a fundamental law as a prerequisite for the recovery of the country's national sovereignty. It is clear that the provision of a constitution to the country will favour the beginning of an electoral process through which Iraq must recover, at an early date, its full national sovereignty.

We took note of the emphasis placed in the Secretary-General's report on the issue of human rights and the rule of law. The former Iraqi regime's human rights record gives the international community an added responsibility to address and resolve this important issue as a means to guarantee the respect of the Iraqi people's fundamental rights, which, in the past, were so clearly violated.

The eagerness of the legal community in Iraq — to which the Secretary-General's report refers — to see established the rule of law and the functioning of an independent legal system is fully understandable. In this regard, we welcome the establishment by the Governing Council of a judicial commission, while recognizing that international assistance will be required to support the efforts of the Iraqi people to ensure the credibility and impartiality of the judicial system itself.

Humanitarian assistance has been at the centre of the United Nations activities in Iraq. A large amount of resources has permitted the United Nations and its agencies to play a fundamental role in assisting the Iraqi people to overcome the difficulties imposed by sanctions, war and other barriers erected in the past.

Another positive development is the avowed intention of the Special Representative to ensure a smooth and integrated transition from humanitarian and emergency rehabilitation to economic recovery and reconstruction. Such an approach reflects positive realities and encourages us all in the belief that a better future awaits Iraq.

The economic reconstruction of Iraq, together with the political process leading to the recovery of national sovereignty, the respect of human rights and the rule of law, leading to the Iraqi people's sovereignty, is, according to our understanding, the third great challenge that Iraq and the international community will face. A great deal remains to be done to repair and rehabilitate the economy's physical infrastructure and in terms of the reduction of poverty and economic reform. We totally agree that, for a profound transformation of the economy to be successful, the goals set and methods used must be inclusive, command broad-based Iraqi political support and must have qualified Iraqis in the lead in the planning and management of Iraq's recovery.

In this connection, we welcome Special Representative Vieira de Mello's statement this morning, which reinforces and strengthens our confidence that this will, indeed, be the way to act. The Iraqis will be put at the helm of a ship sailing through rough waters but towards a very clear destination.

My delegation fully agrees with the stated focus of the United Nations actions in Iraq for the remainder of 2003, as well as with the areas which the Special Representative of the Secretary-General lists as the ones in which the United Nations could positively act and add value.

Let my express my delegation's agreement with the proposals formulated by the Secretary-General, in particular the structure of a proposed United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq, in the expectation that the Security Council will, in due time, start considering approval of such a proposal.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank the representative of Angola for the kind words he addressed to the presidency.

Mr. Negroponte (United States of America) (*spoke in Spanish*): Madam President, I would like to welcome you back to New York again, the host city of the United Nations. We are very pleased that you yourself, in person, are chairing this extremely important meeting of the Security Council.

(*spoke in English*)

We welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, and we thank you for the thorough and comprehensive report that you have submitted to the Council on the subject of Iraq. We, of course, also welcome your Special Representative, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello and acknowledge his positive contributions. His work in Iraq and the work of the United Nations staff exemplify the vital role for the United Nations envisaged by President Bush and Prime Minister Blair in their Hillsborough statement.

I would especially like to welcome Mr. Adnan Pachachi, Mr. Ahmad Chalabi and Ms. Aqeela al-Hashemi, the three members of the Governing Council who are here with us today. For the first time in almost 50 years in Iraq, there is no limit on the freedom of expression in that country. In Iraq today, all shades of opinion have full freedom to compete in an open market of ideas. Their presence here is a powerful symbol of that freedom.

Two months ago today, the Council adopted resolution 1483 (2003), which created a forward path for the Coalition Authority and the United Nations on the ground in Iraq. Resolution 1483 (2003) affirmed our collective commitment to the free political development of an internationally recognized, representative Government of Iraq. Today, just two months later, the Iraqi people have made tremendous progress on the challenging transition to democracy with the formation of the 25-member Governing Council on July 13, nine days ago. As the Secretary-General noted in paragraph 107 of his recent report, the Governing Council provides a broadly representative Iraqi partner. For the first time in decades, there is a national political body that reflects the rich mosaic of Iraqi society.

The establishment of government by and for the Iraqi people, as envisaged in Security Council resolution 1483 (2003), is under way. The Governing Council deserves the full encouragement and support of the international community and especially of this body.

I note also that the Secretary-General's report emphasizes, in the same paragraph, the importance of establishing a clear timetable leading to full restoration of sovereignty. The Governing Council will play a leading role in determining the process for drawing up a new constitution and proceeding to democratic national elections. We anticipate that it will establish a preparatory commission to recommend a process by which a new constitution for Iraq will be prepared and approved. These are key milestones on the road to the internationally recognized, representative Government the Security Council envisioned in resolution 1483 (2003).

The role of women in Iraq's political development should not be overlooked. On 9 July, more than 70 women participated in a day of workshops, entitled "Voice of Women in Iraq". That event was organized by a steering group of Iraqi women, with assistance and participation by the Authority and the United Nations, including the United Nations Development Fund for Women, the United Nations Development Programme and the United Nations Children's Fund. The same steering group will publish the workshop recommendations on constitution and democracy, among a number of other issues.

This unfolding political process is opposed by some, and the undeniably fragile security situation is a clear manifestation of the minority of those who oppose political freedom. They are enemies of freedom and are threatened by visible signs of progress. But they will not prevail. President Bush has made clear that the United States, together with our coalition partners and others willing to join us in this important effort, is committed to establishing the conditions for security which will allow prosperity and democracy to flourish.

In this connection, I would recall that, in its paragraph 1, resolution 1483 (2003) appeals to Member States and concerned organizations to contribute to conditions of stability and security in Iraq, and we strongly encourage Member States to contribute stability forces under that resolution.

The security situation in Iraq is unquestionably complex. The coalition's approach to establishing security in Iraq is multifaceted, including enabling the Iraqis to ultimately provide for their own security. The coalition has moved quickly to establish Iraqi police forces, and shortly it will begin recruiting, vetting and training the first members of the new Iraqi army. Security forces for ministries and for other purposes — for example, port security — are being screened, hired and trained.

In addition to the indispensable elements of security and political freedom, Iraq must achieve

economic growth and development. Political progress will be empty of meaning if the people of Iraq cannot provide for their own livelihood.

Resolution 1483 (2003) appeals to Member States to assist the people of Iraq in their efforts to reform their institutions and rebuild their country. The preparations under way for an international donors' conference later this year will allow the international community to meet this challenge and help to rebuild Iraq. We reaffirm our commitment to the international community to implement resolution 1483 (2003) in a transparent manner. Together, we must promote economic activity on an urgent basis, including the revitalization of the oil industry, the judicious use of oil revenues and other foreign exchange and the development of a free market economy. Iraq is blessed with vast natural resources and human potential. The challenge is to create the conditions for Iraq's potential to be realized, setting the Iraqi economy on the path towards sustainable growth and establishing a strong momentum towards an open market economy, while keeping in place a social safety net.

The coming weeks and months will be full of challenges as well as — to be sure — difficulties. The opportunity now exists for the Iraqi people to create the conditions for a stable, prosperous and democratic Iraq, and we must help them to meet that challenge.

Mr. Pleuger (Germany): Allow me, first of all, to welcome you, Madam, to this important meeting and to thank you for presiding over it.

I warmly welcome the presence of the Secretary-General; we are grateful for his important remarks at the beginning of the meeting and, in particular, for his recent comprehensive report on Iraq (S/2003/715). Furthermore, I should like to thank the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, for his briefing on his activities and for the views he expressed about the way ahead in post-war Iraq. I should also like to express my appreciation for the tireless efforts already made by Mr. Vieira de Mello, and by Mr. Ramiro Lopes da Silva as the Humanitarian Coordinator, and all of their staff, for the dedicated manner in which they are carrying out their tasks in often difficult and sometimes dangerous circumstances.

Finally, I should like to welcome the presence of the representatives of the Governing Council. My Government has already welcomed the creation of the Governing Council as an important first step towards the formation of an internationally recognized representative Government established by the people of Iraq.

We are pleased to note that Mr. Vieira de Mello played an active role in the process of the creation of the Governing Council and that his advice has been favourably received by the Authority, as confirmed by the Secretary-General. We also acknowledge that the Governing Council is broadly based — composed of many groups of the Iraqi people — and may provide the international community with an Iraqi partner with whom it can engage. It is in this sense that we encourage the Governing Council to assume its responsibilities and to lay the groundwork for the convening of a constitutional conference. However, the most important decision — whether the Governing Council is accepted as the legitimate transitional representation of the Iraqi people — will have to be taken by the Iraqis themselves in the coming weeks and months.

Germany welcomes the overall approach and structure for the United Nations presence in Iraq as proposed by the Secretary-General in his latest report. We support the establishment of a United Nations Assistance Mission in Iraq, with a comprehensive scope of responsibilities. We note that the Secretary-General puts a wide range of assistance measures at the disposal of the Iraqi people upon their request, some of which go beyond the tasks described resolution 1483 (2003). With regard to the current discussion about the possibility of a new Security Council resolution on Iraq expanding United Nations responsibilities, I should like to point out that Germany would welcome and support such an approach in order to enable those States that wish to contribute to the reconstruction of Iraq under the auspices of the United Nations to do so. My delegation has always — in particular, during negotiations on resolution 1483 (2003) — advocated a strong United Nations role in the post-war scenario in Iraq.

We fully concur with the Secretary-General's assessment that the forthcoming constitutional and electoral processes will be of fundamental importance to the political transition envisaged in resolution 1483 (2003). We share his view that the United Nations, in coordination with the Authority, can make significant contributions in these sectors. United Nations involvement can confer legitimacy on the process. It

can also put at the disposal of the Iraqi people the wealth of experience and expertise accrued by the United Nations in such fields over the years.

We see an urgent need to improve the security situation as basis for progress in all other areas. We are very concerned indeed about daily reports of loss of life — among soldiers of the coalition and civilians alike — and the overall deterioration of the security situation in parts of Iraq. We understand that establishing a sufficient security environment is a challenging task, as remnants of the old brutal Saddam regime try to undermine stabilization and reconstruction efforts. We take it that the Authority is living up to its responsibilities according to international humanitarian law and as stated by Security Council resolution 1483 (2003).

The Secretary-General confirmed once again that, despite its oil wealth, Iraq will require considerable external assistance for the reconstruction of its economy. Germany stands ready to contribute its share. We have already allocated over $50 million in humanitarian assistance and Germany is the leading contributor to the European assistance programme. German companies stand ready to contribute to the rehabilitation of the Iraqi economy and infrastructure if their participation is welcome.

However, we believe that international support will be forthcoming to the necessary extent only if full transparency and international participation in the decision-making process are assured. That is the reason why we have been actively supporting the Secretariat in its efforts to grant a strong mandate for the International Advisory and Monitoring Board of the Development Fund for Iraq (DFI). It is our understanding from the negotiations of resolution 1483 (2003) that the Board will ensure that the funds of the Development Fund for Iraq are disbursed in accordance with paragraph 13 and for the purposes specified in paragraph 14 of that resolution — that is, for the benefit of the Iraqi people.

In this context, I should like to emphasize that Germany would also welcome the establishment of an adequate multilateral instrument through which the international community could channel its bilateral contributions. We believe that the creation of a separate international fund could dispel some concerns expressed by some members of the United Nations with regard to the DFI. However, full transparency and efficient coordination between these two funds will be needed to solicit adequate contributions from donor countries.

The Iraqi people was forced to live for decades under a brutal regime with a complete disrespect for even the most basic principles of human rights. The almost daily new discovery of mass graves is only the most apparent evidence of the atrocities committed by the Saddam regime. Against this backdrop, it comes as no surprise that the issue of transitional justice and accountability for past crimes is a frequently cited priority area. We believe that this issue has to be dealt with under genuine Iraqi ownership in order to be accepted as impartial by the people of Iraq. We therefore see an urgent need to build up -with the help of the United Nations — an Iraqi human rights capacity. In this regard, we welcome the convening of the first human rights conference in Baghdad three weeks ago by the Special Representative.

The interests of the Iraqi people should be the leading principle of all our activities. We should honour the unanimous hope of the Iraqis, as expressed during discussions with the Secretary-General's Special Representative, that the aspirations of the Iraqi people to govern themselves can be realized as soon as possible. It is true — democracy cannot be imposed from the outside; it has to come from within. Iraqis themselves must conduct the constitutional process. We are ready to effectively contribute to the establishment of conditions allowing all Iraqis to live in freedom, dignity and prosperity under a representative Government that will be at peace with its neighbours and an active member of the international community. We concur with the Secretary-General that it is important that Iraqis be able to see a clear timetable leading to the full restoration of their sovereignty. There is indeed a pressing need to set out a clear and specific sequence of events leading to the end of military occupation.

In conclusion, let me emphasize that the creation of a stable and democratic post-war Iraq and an early transfer of power to a legitimate Iraqi Government are our common objective. The success of political and economic reconstruction in Iraq is the common interest of the European Union — of which Germany is a part — the United States and the States of the region.

Mr. Belinga-Eboutou (Cameroon) (*spoke in French*): My delegation would like to thank you,

Madam, for having organized this important meeting, which is undoubtedly one of the most anticipated events of your presidency. Your personal presence at this meeting reaffirms your country's commitment to the systematic management of acute international crises.

In the same vein, my delegation wishes to pay tribute to the Secretary-General for his tireless involvement in seeking a resolution to the Iraqi crisis, including in this sensitive post-conflict phase. In clearly setting the course in his very wise opening statement this morning, he paved the way for our work this morning. Let us recall his closing remarks:

> "The challenges that await us in Iraq are enormous. Let us all do our utmost to rise to meet them." (*S/PV.4791*)

Cameroon welcomes the historic attendance at our meeting today of representatives of the new Iraqi interim administration. We warmly welcome them. The establishment of the Governing Council on 13 July marked in itself a crucial stage in Iraq's irreversible march towards a normal political and economic constitutional order grounded in freedom, democracy, pluralism, reciprocal tolerance and mutual respect.

I also wish warmly to welcome the return to the Council of Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello in his capacity as Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq. His appointment to that post on 27 May was a sign of the times. It is a herald of the Security Council's ever stronger and broader involvement in post-conflict management.

How could it be otherwise? The situation in Iraq remains a cause of major concern for international peace and security, for it is still explosive domestically and disturbing to the region. It is having an adverse effect on the world economy and on anti-terrorism activities. Indeed, the harmonious functioning of the Security Council itself has been touched by it.

Cameroon wishes to congratulate the Secretary-General on his report, submitted pursuant to paragraph 24 of resolution 1483 (2003). The report is particularly meaningful and evocative of the Iraqi people's desires and of what needs to be done in Iraq.

My country expresses its great appreciation to Mr. Vieira de Mello for the high quality, detail and lucidity of his briefing.

The report of the Secretary-General has just reminded us that the situation in Iraq is fraught with real challenges for all of us: the international community, here and now; the coalition; and, above all, the people of Iraq themselves. As the Secretary-General notes in his report, it is up to the people of Iraq, more than anyone else, to build their future.

My delegation welcomes the multidirectional dialogue that the Special Representative has begun with all the protagonists on the political, social and economic spheres in Iraq, including the officials of the Coalition Provisional Authority. At the very least, that consultation will guarantee that the end of the oil-for-food programme, on 21 November 2003, will take place in a smooth and coherent manner, even though the plan outlined in the report of the Secretary-General for future United Nations projects in the northern provinces in that regard contains some undefined aspects.

The Secretary-General devotes a good deal of space in his report to the prevailing insecurity in Iraq. On behalf of the three members of the Governing Council's delegation, Mr. Adnan Pachachi has described in great detail the detrimental impact of insecurity with regard to restoring essential basic services -- including water, electricity, fuel and health and hospital infrastructure. The lack of security also has a negative impact on the humanitarian situation, on the distribution of food and medicines and on the return of boys and girls to school.

A few weeks ago, during one of our recurring discussions on Iraq, my delegation noted the close and indisputable links that exist between taking charge of security and managing the humanitarian situation and Iraq's political future. We believe that it is clear that the pretexts employed by some to spread terror, death and desolation will simply vanish as issues of survival are resolved. That will especially be true if we are able to accelerate the process of having the Iraqi people resume responsibility for the conduct of the their affairs in the administrative, political, judicial and economic areas. The latter aspect — namely, the economy, which also encompasses reconstruction, economic reform and a recovery in productive activities, and therefore the creation of jobs -- remains the necessary precondition to any security solution or lasting policy. The administration, the army, the police, the oil sector and major construction projects all represent springboards to the rapid creation of jobs.

My delegation notes the fact that the recruitment campaign for the army began last weekend. If it is to be effective and credible, that effort should very soon be supplemented with a broad demobilization, disarmament and reintegration programme. The positive impact of such a programme on security and economic activity is unquestionable.

Generally speaking, Cameroon agrees with the suggestions contained in the report of the Secretary-General regarding the urgent measures to be taken in Iraq, as well as with the short- and medium-term objectives to restore peace in, and sovereignty to, Iraq so that it may be able to take charge of its own future, in particular by managing its huge resources for the benefit of its people, and by freely choosing its own leaders and form of Government. The measures envisaged pertain to transitional justice, respect for human rights and a heightened role for women in the political and development processes. Those seem to us to be key concerns that deserve the full support of the international community. With regard to the issues of transitional justice and human rights in particular, we believe these are key areas in which the United Nations should play a coordinating role, given the relevant experience it has acquired throughout the years. The contribution of civil society organizations in that regard would also be appropriate.

In that connection, I would like to commend Mr. Vieira de Mello for his initiative to hold a workshop in Baghdad three weeks ago on the subject of transitional justice. We were pleased to note the participation in the seminar of international experts and of representatives of humanitarian organizations and organizations promoting human rights. In addition, the workshop included the participation of many Iraqis.

The Governing Council's creation of a judicial commission was a notable decision. One wonders, however, what will distinguish that commission from the one created by the Coalition Provisional Authority.

My delegation would like to express its support for the mandate and format suggested by the Secretary-General for the future United Nations assistance mission in Iraq. Its size of 300 persons seems to us to be suited to the tasks envisaged. It is particularly important that over half its personnel be drawn from national human resources available in Iraq. That would be a good approach to ensuring an alternative, easier and faster takeover by Iraqis of the management of the areas covered by the United Nations Assistance Mission forIraq.

Nevertheless, it is clear to us that the Security Council will first have to undertake informal discussions about the best way for the United Nations to make a decisive contribution to solving the thorny issue of insecurity, which is currently having a critical impact on everything else in Iraq. Although, as currently projected, the Assistance Mission will not have a military or police component, it would be desirable for the approach selected not to close the door to such a possibility.

We have listened attentively to the members of the interim Governing Council through the statement delivered by Mr. Adnan Pachachi. They have come to thank the Security Council for its sustained and active support in recent decades, which represent the most difficult and trying period of their country's recent history. Above all, they have come to the Council to voice the hopes and expectations of the Iraqi people, as well as to ask the Council to help the Iraqi people to turn the page of their history prior to 8 April and to begin a new chapter of Iraqi history in which that country is democratic, prosperous and united in its diversity. May their appeal be heard.

Cameroon, for its part, reaffirms its full support for the Iraqi people. We encourage them to make Iraq what it once was, and should never have ceased to be. The world Iraq means water; thus Iraq is the country of water, and therefore of life.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank the representative of Cameroon for the kind words he addressed to my country.

Mr. Akram (Pakistan): It is an honour and a pleasure to see you, Madame President, once again here with us in the Security Council to preside over this important meeting.

The importance of this meeting has been made obvious by the statements that we have heard from the Secretary-General, whose presence in the Council this morning we welcome, and from his Special Representative for Iraq, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello. Those statements have been made pursuant to Security Council resolution 1483 (2003).

We are happy to note that the United Nations operations in Iraq continue to serve as the eyes and ears of the international community. The incisive analysis

of the report of the Secretary-General (S/2003/715) and of the statements we have heard today reflect that adequately. We appreciate, in particular, Mr. Vieira de Mello's statement and would like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation for all the United Nations and related agencies that have worked in Iraq throughout the difficult days before resolutions 1472 (2003) and 1483 (2003) were adopted to continue to provide for the basic needs of the Iraqi people.

The civilizations of the Tigris and the Euphrates have over the millennia enjoyed close ties with the Indus valley civilization. The peoples of Pakistan and Iraq were bound by ties of history, faith, culture and close cooperation, in the days before repression and war afflicted that great and dynamic country. Throughout recent months, Pakistan has always been guided by the interests of the people of Iraq at every stage of the Council's deliberations. On 27 March, following the conflict, my delegation stated here that the principles that must guide the Council include the following: respect for the political independence, unity and territorial integrity of Iraq and its neighbouring States; the right of the Iraqi people to choose their own political destiny and form of governance in exercise of their right to self-determination; non-intervention and non-interference in their internal affairs; permanent sovereignty and control over their natural resources; respect for the religious and cultural traditions of the people of Iraq and the sanctity of holy places that are among the most venerated in the Islamic world; and the right of the Iraqi nation to economic and social reconstruction.

We believe that those principles remain the framework and the broad objectives that must continue to be promoted by the Security Council and the international community. We believe that the restoration of internal peace and stability in Iraq is in the interest of the Iraqi people, the countries of the region and the international community.

In Iraq today, there are enormous challenges: security, governance, restoration of basic services, reconstruction and justice. But, as in any crisis, those challenges are accompanied by opportunity: the opportunity to revive Iraq to its former potential and promise as a leading nation in the Arab, Islamic and developing world. The Iraqi people, who have suffered long, deserve no less.

Following the recent conflict, the Security Council has sought to realize those objectives. Resolutions 1472 (2003) and 1483 (2003) affirmed the basic principles of the policies that must guide all of us, including the Coalition Provisional Authority, in the process of providing humanitarian and other help to the Iraqi people and securing the earliest and full restoration of Iraq's sovereignty and political independence. The Secretary-General's report reflects developments from the perspective of the United Nations. We commend the efforts deployed in very difficult circumstances by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, his deputy and various United Nations agencies, particularly the World Food Programme — as noted by the Secretary-General in his report — which has reactivated the public food distribution system. That is no mean achievement, given the massive dependence of the Iraqi people on the public rationing system.

In his report, the Secretary-General has noted that the primary concern in Iraq remains the restoration of internal security, which is threatened mainly by organized and unorganized crime and violence. General lawlessness has resulted in the looting and sabotage of key infrastructure. Attacks by those who are presumed to be loyalists from the previous regime or opponents of the Coalition Provisional Authority are also impeding the stabilization efforts. In the words of the Secretary-General, "[The lack of security] ... affects every aspect of life in Iraq today in a fundamental way" (S/2003/715, para. 28). The establishment of internal security is a prelude to, and a precondition for, the normalization of the political, economic and social conditions in Iraq. We believe that in promoting such security, certain essentials must be borne in mind.

First, a strengthened indigenous mechanism is the sine qua non for halting looting and sabotage, which engender uncertainty and fear and prevent humanitarian operations and the rehabilitation of basic services.

Secondly, security operations need to be conducted in ways that are sensitive to the welfare and sentiments of the Iraqi people and sensitive to their cultural and religious values.

Thirdly, to move the popular sentiments in Iraq from suspicion to trust and from scepticism to hope, it is essential to expedite the process of transition to representative governance by the Iraqi people.

Security is, of course, the responsibility of the Coalition Provisional Authority. United Nations assistance in building and training Iraqi police and security forces can be promoted and enlarged under the provisions of operative paragraph 8 of resolution 1483 (2003). That resolution, as we noted on 21 May, also opens the door to the friends of Iraq to contribute to the welfare of the Iraqi people, including for the creation of an environment of peace and security in the area. Clearly, such contributions from Iraq's friends, who share common values with the people of Iraq, should be in response to the wishes and desires of the Iraqi people themselves.

Paragraph 9 of resolution 1483 (2003) envisaged the early creation of an Iraqi interim authority. In his report, the Secretary-General emphasized "[the] need for an Iraqi body, widely accepted as representative, to be established so that the key issues facing Iraq can begin to be addressed by Iraqis themselves" (para. 106).

Pakistan believes that the formation of the Governing Council is a welcome first step in the direction of returning governance and restoring sovereignty to the people of Iraq as soon as possible. We welcome the presence here of Mr. Adnan Pachaci, Mr. Chalaby and Ms. Aqeela al-Hashemi, members of the Governing Council, at our meeting today.

The Security Council, in its resolution 1483 (2003), expressed its resolve that the day when Iraqis govern themselves must come quickly. In that context, the Secretary-General has also indicated the need to set out a clear and specific sequence of events leading to the end of the military occupation of Iraq. The establishment of a recognized representative Government by the people of Iraq is the eventual destination of the political process envisaged in resolution 1483 (2003). The United Nations is well placed to assist the Iraqi people in this process. We hope that the Coalition Provisional Authority, in coordination with the United Nations, will chart a course of events leading up to the full and early restoration of Iraq's sovereignty. The United Nations engagement with the process would enhance its legitimacy and credibility in the eyes of the international community and, more importantly, in the eyes of the Iraqi people themselves.

The economic independence of the Iraqi people constitutes a fundamental element of their national sovereignty. The administration of Iraq's economic and natural resources is a trust that was given to the Coalition Provisional Authority under resolution 1483 (2003) as a temporary measure due to the exigencies of the situation. The administration of Iraq's resources must be transparent and consistent with the provisions of international law and resolution 1483 (2003). In particular, we would like to indicate that the Security Council, in paragraph 12 of resolution 1483 (2003), decided that the International Advisory and Monitoring Board would not only advise, but would also monitor the transactions of the Development Fund through its auditors. We hope that that consideration will be fully reflected in the revised regulations of the International Advisory and Monitoring Board.

Secondly, the provision of basic services has a direct and reciprocal relationship with the establishment of security. The Iraq oil-for-food programme has catered to the needs of the Iraqi people for many years. We need to consider how to retain the basic operational capacity created under the oil-for-food programme to deliver basic human needs and reconstruction requirements to the Iraqi people.

Iraq faces a gigantic task of economic and social reconstruction and rehabilitation. We believe that the United Nations is best suited to lead and to coordinate international efforts in this direction.

Pakistan has maintained that the Security Council, in its deliberations on Iraq, has broadly reflected the sentiments of the world's peoples. The Security Council and the United Nations have demonstrated extraordinary unity after the war to move the situation towards normalization. Resolutions 1472 (2003) and 1483 (2003) represented sincere endeavors on behalf of the Council and the international community to come together to protect and promote the interests of the Iraqi people. The Secretary-General and his Special Representative have already made a significant contribution to that end.

They must be provided full support for the realization of the ongoing tasks listed in paragraph 98 of the report and for exploring ways and means to broaden the contribution of the United Nations in the areas outlined in paragraph 99 of the report. Pakistan stands ready to extend all possible assistance and cooperation to the Iraqi people to realize their aspirations to maintain their unity, restore their sovereignty, regain control over their national

resources and re-establish relations of fraternity and friendship with all their neighbours and other States of the region.

Mr. Gatilov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Like other Security Council members, we are happy to see you, Madam President, presiding over today's meeting of the Security Council. We also wish to welcome the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for Iraq, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, and we welcome the members of the interim Governing Council of Iraq.

The Russian Federation attaches great importance to today's meeting of the Security Council. For the first time since the adoption of resolution 1483 (2003), the Security Council is conducting a comprehensive review of the situation in Iraq, which in all respects is still extremely complex. The manner in which the problems facing the country are dealt with will determine the future of the Iraqi people and stability in the Middle East region as a whole.

The priority task of the international community at this stage, as we see it, is to help the people of Iraq find a way out of the crisis. We believe that this will be possible only if there is respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Iraq and if Iraq is given the right to dispose of its own natural resources and wealth. We believe it fundamentally important that this is the very approach on which the Secretary-General's report pursuant to resolution 1483 (2003) is based. We agree with the conclusions and evaluations contained in the report. The Secretary-General's recommendations clearly identify those areas where the United Nations can make a contribution to achieving an Iraqi settlement.

The Russian delegation greatly appreciates the work of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General who, in a difficult situation, is seeking to resolve the tasks facing the United Nations there. We would stress that the successes achieved would have been even more impressive had appropriate security conditions been provided in Iraq to ensure the work of the international staff there. Without such security, carrying out the major tasks mapped out in the Secretary-General's report will be much more difficult.

It is clear that the problem cannot be resolved by military methods alone, without establishing a political process. Within that context, we regard the formation of the interim Governing Council of Iraq to be a step in the right direction, making it possible to implement one of the key provisions of Security Council resolution 1483 (2003), on the establishment of a representative interim Iraqi administration. But this has to be a transitional period leading to the establishment of a legally elected leadership of the country by the Iraqi people, which will be able to lead the country out of crises.

We agree with the conclusion in the report that the people of Iraq themselves must determine their own future. The international community, through the United Nations, is to provide them with assistance in attaining that goal. It is important that in contacts with the Iraqi political forces, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General focus on the need to establish a Government that is based on the rule of law and is able to ensure for all Iraqi citizens equal rights and justice, without distinction as to ethnic origin, religion or sex.

We fully agree with what is stated in the report about the need to develop a clear timetable setting out a sequence of events leading to the full restoration of sovereignty and the ending of the military occupation.

We approve of the broad contacts made by the Special Representative with Iraq's regional neighbours. The report quite rightly notes that the situation in Iraq has a very clear regional aspect to it, and that the kind of independent State Iraq becomes will depend to a large extent on its cooperation with the States of the subregion.

We commend the Special Representative for the work he has been doing in the area of the economic recovery of Iraq. It is important that representatives of the United Nations Development Programme, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank work alongside him.

We expect that proposed measures for the economic recovery of Iraq will help to raise the living standards of the people of Iraq, who have suffered so long from a very severe humanitarian crisis.

As the Council is aware, recently the economic viability of Iraq has been ensured almost primarily through the United Nations oil-for-food programme, which has helped the Iraqi people to survive. In this connection, I should like to note the need to continue United Nations involvement in resolving humanitarian problems in Iraq after the oil-for-food programme is phased out in late November.

The international community can and must provide comprehensive assistance to Iraq in reconstruction. The United Nations has broad experience and the necessary potential to do so. From this standpoint, we deem timely the proposal to establish the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq, and we agree with the parameters described in the Secretary-General's report.

Russia also considers it necessary, in developing resolution 1483 (2003), to consider in the Security Council the possibility of taking a decision on specific steps to enhance United Nations involvement in a post-war settlement and to supplement the mandate of the United Nations with the appropriate additional functions or tasks. This would be in keeping with our main goal, which is to deal with the challenges facing Iraq today. It is our hope that the international community will be able to develop agreed decisions that will make it possible to provide the necessary assistance to the people of Iraq.

Russia, which has past and present ties with the people of Iraq, is ready to continue making its contribution to normalizing the situation in Iraq, to its economic reconstruction and to ensuring that it enjoys full State independence.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Boubacar Diallo (Guinea) (*spoke in French*): First of all, Madam, I should like to say how pleased my delegation is to see you presiding over this meeting. I should like also to thank the Secretary-General for agreeing to devote some of his valuable time to attending today's meeting, as well as for his very interesting introductory statement.

I should like also to welcome Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq, and to convey to him our deep appreciation for the commitment and competence with which he has been carrying out his delicate mission since he was appointed on 27 May last.

We would like also to thank Mr. Adnan Pachachi, Mr. Ahmad Chalabi and Ms. Aqeela Al-Hashemi for attending this very important meeting.

The report before us — a very comprehensive one — makes clear the scope and the difficulty of the task entrusted to the United Nations under paragraph 24 of resolution 1483 (2003). My delegation would like in particular to note the excellent work done in bringing together the various sectors of Iraqi society with a view to ensuring a smooth political transition, promoting respect for human rights, strengthening humanitarian assistance and helping in economic reconstruction in Iraq.

As we see it, the establishment of a broadly representative interim Government is one of the top priorities. We would therefore urge Iraqis of all orientations and all persuasions to work together to prepare a broad political programme in which they all can be involved.

The establishment of the interim Governing Council on 13 July last is part of that approach, and it is encouraging. The establishment of a constitutional commission charged with drafting a constitution supported by all Iraqis is an equally important aspect of the process that is now under way.

However important all of these goals are, they cannot be attained unless there is an appropriately supportive environment. The overall insecurity in the country is a source of major concern to my delegation in this connection. Unless there is an atmosphere of reliable security, no efforts can be carried out successfully. Moreover, the effectiveness of the contribution of the United Nations depends totally on such an atmosphere of security. As we know, insecurity persists, inter alia because of the uncontrolled circulation of all kinds of weapons and because of the current legal vacuum, to which urgent solutions must be found.

We believe that the many human rights violations of the past three decades justify the adoption of appropriate measures so that light can be shed on what has happened. We believe that this would help to promote national reconciliation and to lay the foundations for lasting development in Iraq.

As the report indicates, the serious humanitarian situation of the Iraqi people must be dealt with. Past sufferings and current day-to-day difficulties have increased the people's vulnerability. Given that situation, we urge the donor community to ensure that the financial resources pledged at the revised Humanitarian Appeal on 23 June last be made available as soon as possible, so as to meet the basic needs of the people.

We would like to thank the United Nations system and to non-governmental organizations working on the ground for the significant contribution they have made to improving the living conditions of Iraqis. We believe also that the reintegration of refugees, some 400,000 of whom are abroad, and of displaced persons, whose number is estimated at 1 million, are yet another topic to which we should devote our full attention.

We agree also that the cumulative impact of wars, international sanctions and a policy whereby the State was in total control have seriously damaged the Iraqi economy. We take note of the initial steps that have been taken, but it is clear that Iraq will need the assistance and expertise of the United Nations and of the international financial institutions in order to move to a market economy. This means that there must be a joint, long-term undertaking that focuses first of all on the establishment of an appropriate institutional and legal framework.

In conclusion, we would like to say that Iraq, which is currently at a crossroads, represents a tremendous undertaking that will require, in addition to the will and the efforts of its people, the continuing support of the international community support. There is no doubt that such a synergy will enable Iraq soon to put an end to recent nightmares and to regain its place in the community of nations.

Sir Jeremy Greenstock (United Kingdom): I, too, warmly welcome you back, Madam, and congratulate Spain, our European partner, on its handling of the presidency so far this month.

I want first to commend the very interesting and widely welcomed report presented to us last week by the Secretary-General, and to thank him for his brief but telling statement this morning. The United Kingdom is grateful, too, for today's presentation by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Sergio Vieira de Mello, whose work so far in Iraq has shown how valuable the input of the United Nations can be.

We are witnessing an already impressive United Nations effort across a range of activity on the ground in Iraq. European ministers yesterday expressed their confidence that the United Nations will continue to make an important contribution in Iraq, and reiterated their readiness to support the efforts of the Special Representative. The United Kingdom believes in an increasingly important United Nations role, and wishes to see that role extended along the lines proposed in the Secretary-General's report.

I warmly welcome the presence here this morning of Mr. Adnan Pachachi, Mr. Ahmad Chalabi and Ms. Aqeela al-Hashemi — members of the Governing Council — and I thank all three of them for their presentation through the experienced voice of Mr. Pachachi.

In line with resolution 1483 (2003), we need to ensure that the day the Iraqis govern themselves comes quickly. The Governing Council is the key element in the Iraqi interim administration, and the first step in a process that will lead back to an internationally recognized representative Government and an Iraq run by Iraqis in the interests of all Iraqis.

The Secretary-General's report welcomes the creation of the Governing Council and highlights the real powers it will have from the outset. The report also makes clear that the Governing Council will provide a broadly representative Iraqi partner with which the United Nations and the international community at large can engage. We agree that the subsequent process of constitutional reform should be owned by the Iraqis and that there should be a clear sequence of events leading to a fully representative Government as soon as possible. We hope that the Governing Council will soon come forward with ideas on that, and that the Coalition Provisional Authority will work closely with it in developing those ideas. Our function is to create conditions under which the Iraqi people can determine their own future, not to impose a blueprint or a timetable of our own. The role of the neighbouring countries and the region is especially important. The United Kingdom will encourage the fullest possible consultation and cooperation in this respect.

The British Government recognizes the special obligations on us as a Power in the Coalition Provisional Authority. We take the current security situation very seriously. Iraqis want and must have the rule of law established. We need to be clear that the minority of Iraqis who, with some outside assistance, are attempting to sabotage this prospect, are, as Mr. Pachachi has said, undermining the interests of the civilian population of Iraq. They will not succeed.

We also have to improve essential services and set the economy on a path of sustainable growth. We have been taking concerted and effective action in these areas in ways which Ambassador Negroponte has

already set out. We will go into more detail when, with the United States, we present our own comprehensive update to the Council within the next month, as requested in resolution 1483 (2003).

I want, however, to say a word today about the importance we attach to urgent progress on justice and human rights and on improving the role of women in society, both at national and local levels. Iraq suffered decades of brutality and political coercion during which its justice system was severely corrupted and distorted. We welcome the proposals to increase the United Nations role in aiding reform of the justice system and the protection of human rights. The international community has a key role to play in assisting Iraqis to re-establish a fair and transparent system of justice under which the rights of its citizens are properly protected. At the same time, we can help the development of a new culture in which human rights are always respected, rather than systematically abused.

The Coalition Provisional Authority is already fully engaged in the process of helping the Iraqis to re-structure their justice system. Much of our effort is focused on the practical issues of repairing courts, assessing which judges and prosecutors were too deeply implicated in the crimes of the Ba'ath party to be allowed to continue in office and setting up training for those that remain. It will be for the Iraqis to decide how they want to continue this work in the longer term. But there is much expertise in the United Nations and other international organizations in this area on which they can call and which we should be ready to provide.

One of the most difficult issues faced by any country which has suffered oppression and abuse is how to deal with the legacy of past crimes. Again, this will be a matter for the Iraqis themselves to decide. We look forward to seeing the product of the special group of the Governing Council mentioned by Mr. Pachachi this morning. Regrettably, there is no shortage of recent international experience in this field. The Authority has set up an office of human rights and transitional justice to help this process. It is working on collecting witness testimony, identifying missing persons, addressing property disputes and dealing with the examination of mass graves and the preservation of evidence.

There is a huge task ahead. New mass graves are being identified in Iraq practically every day. We have so far received reports of 115; more will be discovered. It has been estimated that they contain the bodies of over 300,000 victims of the Saddam regime. Helping Iraq deal with that grim legacy will take many years. A United Kingdom team of forensic experts has produced recommendations for the exhumation of mass graves and the preservation of evidence. We are about to send a second team to help coordinate what will need to be an international effort, and we hope that other Member States can send forensic teams to Iraq to assist. But in the longer term this will be a task for the Iraqi authorities. They will need training and technical advice, and that is a further area in which the international community has much to offer.

On the promotion of human rights, we again welcome and support the recommendations made by the Secretary-General, including on the provision of advice and assistance on capacity-building and training. The development of a strong civil society will be an important part of a new democracy. The United Nations Development Programme will have a valuable role to play. We welcome the decision of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to send human rights monitors to Iraq. The United Kingdom has allocated $650,000 towards funding these monitors, thus providing 60 per cent of the immediate start-up costs of deploying them and supporting their work.

In both these areas the Authority has been aiming to lay some of the groundwork for the development of sound judicial and human rights structures. It is a long-term and vital task in which the United Nations has a key role to play. But it is important that the Organization and the Authority work together effectively and in a coordinated way so that we can give the Iraqis the support that they need. Sergio Vieira de Mello's dual role is especially significant in this respect.

We fully support the comments of the Secretary-General on the inclusion of Iraqi women in the transitional, constitutional and political processes now under way in Iraq. They were, above all, the silent victims of the former regime. Now we should help them to find their voice. We supported at the ministerial level the women's conference in Baghdad on 9 July, at which a wide range of issues was discussed. This was a good start, but more needs to be done to encourage Iraqi women to organize and express themselves. We would urge the United Nations Development Fund for Women to continue its work in

Iraq and hope that it will be able to go ahead with its plans to host a national conference in the coming weeks. We have encouraged the leaders of Iraqi political and other groups to include women representatives at both the national and regional levels and we hope that these leaders will view this as an important part of the reintroduction of democracy in their country.

The United Kingdom is also helping to set up an independent media commission to support the development of a robust and professional independent media sector, and we welcome the United Nations willingness to consider where and how it can add value to building the institutions of a civil society in Iraq; electoral processes; constitutional, judicial and legal reform; and reform of the public administration and the security sector. Dismantling the previous regime's infrastructure of oppression was a necessary first step, but not a sufficient one.

As the interim administration gets to grips with these and other issues in the months ahead, it and the Iraqi people may look to the international community for support and practical assistance, the potential range of which has been well expressed by the Secretary-General and the Special Representative today.

The creation of the Governing Council marked a pivotal moment for Iraq. For the first time in decades, Iraq now has an administration — a powerful voice which we have heard today — broadly representative of its diversity and in a position to serve the interests of the Iraqi people as a whole. Iraqis can at last sense the prospect of realizing their full potential and creating a brighter future, but they need immediate international support for this. That is why the United Nations contribution at this time is so valuable and so welcome.

The fundamental criterion guiding our work in Iraq over the coming period — the cornerstone, as Sergio Vieira de Mello has said — is the need to bring Iraq back into the hands of Iraqis as soon as this can be done in a framework of stability and security through a constitutional reform process owned by the Iraqi people. I hope that the broad international community will continue to increase its involvement in helping to build a better Iraq. Resolution 1483 (2003) called for a genuine international partnership, asking Member States and other organizations to assist the people of Iraq to reform their institutions, rebuild their country and contribute to stability and security. Essential to that partnership is the role of the United Nations in the areas mapped out in resolution 1483 — a role which the Special Representative is judiciously constructing as the weeks go by.

As I come to terms with the inexplicable postponement of my retirement, I look forward to working with him and the whole United Nations team in the months ahead, conscious as I am from my experience on this Council that the regeneration of a free and stable Iraq is in all respects a collective enterprise of the international community.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Aguilar Zinser (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): My delegation is especially pleased that you, Madam, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain, are presiding over the Security Council for this important meeting.

My delegation thanks the Secretary-General for his report to the Security Council and for his opening statement at this meeting. We wish in particular to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, for the important briefing, information and views he has shared with us in order to enable the Security Council to appraise the role of the United Nations and the current situation in Iraq.

My delegation also welcomes Mr. Adnan Pachachi, Mr. Ahmad Chalabi and Ms. Aqeela al-Hashemi.

My Government has taken due note of the formation of the interim Governing Council of Iraq. We listened attentively to Mr. Pachachi's statement concerning the objectives and purposes of that Council in the immediate future. We sincerely wish them every success in their task of such far-reaching importance to the political reconstruction of Iraq.

The aim expressed by the Secretary-General concerning the Organization's presence in Iraq is fully shared by the Mexican Government. We agree that the immediate goal is to put an end to the military occupation as soon as possible, within the framework of the establishment of an Iraqi administration that is genuinely representative and capable of restoring and exercising Iraq's full sovereignty, in keeping with a constitutional order designed by Iraqis for Iraqis.

In this regard, my delegation fully endorses the principles outlined here by the Permanent Representative of Pakistan, which are principles that we have championed with respect to the situation in Iraq and which are undoubtedly those that inspire the activities of the United Nations. We hope that the timetable referred to in the Secretary-General's report will lead expeditiously and successfully to the full restoration of Iraq's sovereignty.

The raison d'être of the United Nations presence in Iraq and the mandate that this Council has given it is to assist and support the people of Iraq, strengthen its capacity to recover its sovereignty, address the humanitarian problems it faces, establish conditions for the full exercise of human rights and foster the creation of institutions that will lead to economic, political and social development for the Iraqi people. The people of Iraq is the focus of the United Nations and the only objective that the Organization is pursuing in Iraq. In keeping with this, we welcome the fact that, through dialogue and communication with all sectors of Iraqi society, the United Nations has been able to re-establish its presence in Iraq and to draw up a programme of work, set its priorities and define its positions.

The Security Council can also thereby gain a clearer idea of what Iraqis want. As Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello has said, regardless of the sector, faith or race of members of Iraqi society, there are very clear needs, demands, purposes and objectives being pursued by the Iraqi people as a whole. These have been described to us today by Mr. Vieira de Mello.

The first of these, of course, is the full restoration of peace, order and security. Here, we need to stress the fact that the primary responsibility lies, in accordance with international humanitarian law, with the Authority set up by the occupying forces. That responsibility cannot be replaced by anyone, but the international community can assist in carrying out the task of fully restoring security and order in Iraq.

In that regard, my delegation is grateful for the reports shared with the Security Council earlier by representatives of the coalition. We look forward to the report that Ambassador Jeremy Greenstock has said will be forthcoming in accordance with the provisions of resolution 1483 (2003) regarding the information that the coalition and the Authority must share with the Security Council, so that we may evaluate the action the Council can take to strengthen the role of the United Nations and more actively assist in fully restoring peace and security.

Peace and security, which we wish to see in Iraq, essentially depend not only on police and military arrangements; peace and security will ultimately hinge upon the political arrangement that Iraqis achieve — by addressing humanitarian needs, creating robust institutions upon which to base the rule of law and establishing adequate conditions for economic and social development — to provide the foundations for peace and security in the country, as well as by seeking agreement with regard to the establishment of new representative institutions that leave behind the past of brutal repression experienced by the Iraqi people. My Government therefore expresses the hope that the process of internal political consolidation will quickly lead to the onset of peace and security, which will have a positive effect upon the entire region.

What role should the United Nations therefore play? That has already been outlined clearly by Mr. Vieira de Mello and the Secretary-General. However, allow me to add a few points in this regard.

There is a need to accelerate and expand the deployment of humanitarian assistance to tackle the difficult conditions being suffered by various parts of Iraqi society. That must be done by converting the oil-for-food programme into domestic mechanisms and programmes that have the support of the international community. However, as the Secretary-General's report indicates, and as Mr. Vieira de Mello has underscored in his briefing, security conditions greatly impede the achievement of those tasks. We therefore make a very special appeal to the Coalition Provisional Authority to redouble its ongoing efforts to ensure that humanitarian agencies of the United Nations, those of the international community and of Iraq, as well as non-governmental organizations, may have the requisite security to carry out their work in support of the Iraqi civilian population.

In the current circumstances, the protection of humanitarian workers must be a priority. That is a collective responsibility of all States, and a particular responsibility of those currently wielding authority in Iraq. In that regard, we lament the tragic news we heard this morning from Mr. Vieira de Mello of the death of a representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

We also believe that the United Nations can share its disarmament and demobilization experience. In that connection, we believe that certain skills should not, and must not, be wasted in providing assistance in the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process, which is a fundamental component of creating a new order in Iraq.

We concur with the Secretary-General and his Special Representative that one of the most immediate and important tasks in rebuilding Iraq is to protect human rights. First and foremost, we must ensure that basic respect for human rights and freedoms is re-established, not only in the current circumstances but also with regard to the very important and key task of requiring that responsibility be accepted by the perpetrators of the unspeakable violations we increasingly hear about as new evidence is uncovered. That is essential to re-establishing peace and the rule of law, as well as in assigning responsibility. But so too must human rights and the existence of a just legal order be re-established.

In that regard, there will be a need to support the efforts to be made by the Iraqi people and their representatives to identify ways and means of carrying out trials and meting out punishment to those guilty of atrocities.

It will also be a fundamental task of the United Nations to promote the active participation of women in the process of change. In that connection, we align ourselves with the statements we heard this morning from various representatives. It is necessary that we support the Iraqi people's economic recovery and development.

The Iraqi people's oil patrimony will be an essential tool in the country's economic recovery and development. In the current exceptional circumstances, it is necessary to ensure that oil is used solely to benefit the people of Iraq. To that end, we must make an effort to clarify the role and task entrusted to the International Advisory and Monitoring Board by Security Council resolution. The Board must have specific monitoring and advisory functions that make the use of oil resources transparent. Like other delegations, we express the hope that an agreement will be reached to give the Board the scope and nature specifically spelled out in resolution 1483 (2003).

In that regard, we believe that no commitments should be made vis-à-vis Iraqi oil that do not stem from the specific will of the Iraqi people. For the time being, therefore, the management of the oil industry should be merely provisional. Once established, it should be up to Iraq's constitutional order to define the terms under which the Iraqi people will exercise sovereignty over their oil, as well as the structure of the industry and the way in which resources derived from oil are to be used to benefit the people.

All the efforts made by the international community through the United Nations should go hand in hand with the very active participation of States in the provision of humanitarian assistance and support for reconstruction activities in Iraq. It should be the United Nations that serves as the fundamental channel through which the international community can make its support felt in the reconstruction process.

In conclusion, allow me to say that my delegation has every confidence in the work being done by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, as well as in the programme of work and the structure for the Office that has been established. We hope that the work to be done by Mr. Vieira de Mello and the Secretariat will lead to the restoration of Iraq's sovereignty as soon as possible.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank the representative of Mexico for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Tafrov (Bulgaria) (*spoke in Spanish*): It is an honour and privilege, Madam President, for my delegation to participate in this meeting of the Security Council under Spain's very effective and dynamic presidency during the month of July.

(*spoke in French*)

First, I would like to thank the Secretary-General for his participation in our debate today and for his report (S/2003/715) on the implementation of resolution 1483 (2003). I thank him also for his introductory statement, in which he set forth the principles and objectives of United Nations action in Iraq. Bulgaria fully shares his views. I also thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, for his briefing and, above all, for his activities in Iraq. He has listened to the active members of Iraqi society and faithfully interpret their views. He has forged extremely useful contacts with other countries in the region. He has created good synergy in working with the Coalition

Provisional Authority, which I believe redounds to his credit. We thank him and extend our full support to him.

It is a pleasure to welcome to the Council representatives of the interim Governing Council of Iraq: Mr. Pachachi, Mr. Chalabi and Ms. al-Hashemi. The establishment of the Governing Council was an important step for the Iraqis as they seek to regain control of their future. Bulgaria welcomes that very positive development. We assure the Governing Council members present here of Bulgaria's full support for the Iraqis as they seek to establish a free and independent Iraq and to resume the warm and friendly relations that had always existed between our two countries.

The United Nations must play a central role in Iraq. That role should become ever greater and stronger. That is Bulgaria's profound belief. We are pleased that the first steps taken by the United Nations in Iraq have been successful ones despite the extremely difficult conditions in which Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello's team is working there. The results are very encouraging. In our opinion, the approach adopted by Mr. Vieira de Mello will yield increasingly tangible results.

Bulgaria considers the work of the United Nations in the area of human rights to be of particular importance. Human rights are especially important for a country that is seeking to emerge from decades of murderous dictatorship and to establish the rule of law.

As the representative of a country that in the recent past had to face a similar, though not identical, situation, I am particularly sensitive to the aspiration just voiced by Mr. Pachachi: to move towards national reconciliation by shedding light on the recent past. Unfortunately, as Mr. Vieira de Mello said, that past was of the darkest and most brutal. We believe that the United Nations has a role to play in helping the Iraqis shed light on their recent past. In that context, the United Nations is the principal means by which the international community can, as it must, help the Iraqi people face the great challenges before them.

Security is still extremely fragile, and major problems remain. The responsibility of the Coalition Provisional Authority is clearly fundamental in that area. We think that the international community must find the way to help the Iraqis retake control of the management of the situation as quickly as possible. We fully agree with the Secretary-General's approach on the structure and objectives of a United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq. We believe that the future role of the United Nations should be defined in accordance with how the situation on the ground develops. Things are changing fairly quickly. It was very encouraging to hear that Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello shares that approach.

Before concluding, on a more personal note, I was very moved to hear Mr. Pachachi, at the beginning of his statement, stress the word "freedom". Clearly, freedom is essential for all development and independence. I express my heartfelt wish for a free and independent Iraq in the near future.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank the representative of Bulgaria for the kind words he addressed to the Spanish delegation, which I am honoured to lead.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Spain.

It is — and believe me, this is no mere rhetoric — an honour for me to preside over this meeting of the Security Council, because today is an important day for Iraq, for the international community and for the United Nations system.

We are committed to a future Iraq — to use the Secretary-General's words — that is stable, united, prosperous and democratic, in peace both internally and with its neighbours: an Iraq able to leave behind 35 years of bloodthirsty dictatorship and 35 years of bad administration. The magnitude of the situation that Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello indicated — hundreds of thousands of dead and hundreds of thousands of victims of repression — and the moving statement by Mr. Adnan Pachachi on the deprivation of freedom and the degradation of the dignity of the Iraqi people spoke revealingly of the recent past.

It is a true that there are difficulties. The Secretary-General's report (S/2003/715) and the statements of the Special Representative and of the spokesman of the Governing Council of Iraq have described them to us; I myself witnessed them during my recent trip to Baghdad. However, today we are beginning to glimpse clearly this new democratic Iraq, fully integrated into the international community, respectful of rights and freedoms, and which makes efficient use of its immense natural resources for the

benefit of all Iraqis and provides a conducive framework for the enhanced development for that great people, whose potential has been demonstrated throughout one of the richest histories in human culture and civilization, as Sergio Vieira de Mello has recalled.

Yes, the assessment that emerges from the statements we have heard today, and particularly from those of the Secretary-General, Mr. Vieira de Mello and Mr. Pachachi, is hopeful, despite the complex situation still prevailing in Iraq. Indeed, the fall of the Saddam Hussain regime awakened great expectations marked by the natural impatience of those who had lived under submission and deprivation. After decades of bad administration, Iraqis expect an improvement in their living conditions, and they expect it now. After decades of repression and a dictatorial regime, the Iraqi people yearn to take the reins of their own destiny without delay.

The fact is that, on a daily basis, life is not easy in Iraq. Each loss of human life, of civilians or coalition military personnel, can only be described as a tragedy, because, although they are not strategic in nature, there are risks and threats arising in particular out of the combination of resistance and criminality. As Mr. Vieira de Mello noted in connection with the latter component, at the end of 2002 Saddam Hussain freed most of the criminals who had been sentenced for common crimes.

Given that perspective, it should be recalled, as many speakers have, that until the new Iraqi police force is effectively deployed and the new Iraqi army is formed, the task of maintaining the security of individuals and property falls to the forces of the Coalition Provisional Authority. Also, resolution 1483 (2003) appeals to the members of the international community to contribute to carrying out that task.

At the same time, there is a shortfall in basic services such as electricity, running water and fuel; those shortages are attributable in large part to the cited security problems. But we had expected a food crisis and, fortunately, it has not occurred. The food distribution system is working reasonably well in most parts of the country. Hospital services are improving and students have been able to finish the school year. Banks in Baghdad are beginning to provide services — and I have see that for myself.

However, above all, it is hard to exaggerate the significance of the formation of the Governing Council of Iraq, whose spokesman we were honoured to hear today. That institution embodies the core of the interim Iraqi administration, for whose formation the Security Council unanimously called in paragraph 9 of resolution 1483 (2003). The Governing Council incorporates Iraqi men and women of renown and great courage. It includes in a balanced way representatives of the various political, ethnic and religious components that make up the Iraqi mosaic. Thus, it symbolizes Iraq's unity, which we wish to preserve. Its establishment is a decisive step towards the objectives of self-government and of normalizing the political life of the Iraqi people. To echo what Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello has said, the Governing Council of Iraq has credible executive power and is broadly representative. For that reason, it deserves the full support of the international community.

Yes, the international community, represented by the Security Council, through the participation of the Governing Council's spokesman, is today giving recognition to that Council. The Governing Council, which possesses authority under resolution 1483 (2003), will gain legitimacy before the Iraqi people by effectively contributing to improving the basic living conditions of Iraqis, thus paving the way towards free elections and towards the drafting of a constitution.

Mr. Pachachi has vividly described the tremendous task facing the Governing Council. The urgent priorities that it faces cover all areas of government functions, from the appointment of ministers to the running of embassies and the building of schools — 1,500 schools, we were told — and hospitals. With realism, he has recognized the tremendous responsibility that his institution bears. It is an honourable mission that should receive the unreserved support of the international community represented by the Security Council.

The Governing Council of Iraq can, of course, rely on the firm commitment of Spain in that endeavour. The fact is that the Governing Council has an historic mission, including in particular the drafting of the constitution and the creation of conditions that will make it possible to hold free elections. Those tasks will lay the foundation for a political edifice of peace, prosperity and coexistence in democracy, which the Iraqi people must build with the guidance of the Governing Council and to which we must all be committed.

Allow me to recall what a number of speakers have said about the characteristics of that constitutional process. The process of drafting the constitution must be, more than anything else, inclusive of the country's democratic, political, ethnic and religious groups and also of the varied social groups, particularly women. No significant sector should feel marginalized. A timetable needs to be set that is specific and, at the same time, is sufficiently flexible to adapt to a task that will be complex — as are all constituent processes. Iraqis must perceive clearly that this is the beginning of a process with a specific final destination, and with real political prospects for understanding among all and respect by all. As the report of the Secretary-General notes, and as indeed most statements today have underscored — and with these I agree — there needs to be an ambitious and realistic programme that is adaptable in terms of time, in which consensus is the genuine basic rule for action, guiding the decision-making process, allowing all opinions to be expressed freely and without hindrance, including also the life-giving wisdom of the thinking of civil society.

Finally, this process of drafting a constitution for Iraq needs to be led by a distinguished individual of prestige and experience, of recognized moral authority and with a sense of statesmanship. Members may feel that some of these features are familiar to some of us who are members of the European Union, because, as some members have undoubtedly noted, these points faithfully describe the method whereby we Europeans came together to endow ourselves with a constitution. These are the distinctive features of the recently concluded Convention for the Future of Europe, which just presented the preliminary draft of a European constitution.

But plainly it is not sufficient to draft a constitution. As I said earlier, the holding of free elections is vital. Of course, the draft constitution will be subject to ratification by the Iraqi people through a popular consultation.

The United Nations plays an irreplaceable role in all these tasks because of its lengthy experience in democratization and institution-building processes, and because of its unparalleled capacity to undertake, with guaranteed impartiality, key tasks such as, for example, advising in the preparation of an electoral register; in the convening, holding and monitoring of elections; and in the identification and fostering of the necessary conditions to enable pluralism to flourish — from the communications media to programmes promoting the involvement of women.

I wish here to take up several points made by Mr. Vieira de Mello and stressed by Ambassador Greenstock. The political transition to democracy and economic reconstruction is not enough in and of itself if it does not take place in a legal framework that enshrines respect for human rights.

I therefore associate myself with those who have expressed appreciation for the report submitted pursuant to paragraph 24 of resolution 1483 (2003), as well as for the commendable work being done by Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello and his team and the dedication with which they are undertaking their work in very difficult circumstances.

In particular I would highlight our great confidence in the work of the Special Representative, who is also the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.

Lastly, I wish to join with others in supporting the proposals made in the report of the Secretary-General.

Allow me to conclude by reaffirming, on behalf of the Government of Spain, our commitment to Iraq as a participant in the coalition; our humanitarian commitment to the Iraqi people; our commitment to rebuilding Iraq and to its stability and security; and our commitment to the United Nations and to its agencies, and especially to the Special Representative — ultimately, a commitment of support and of fullest cooperation with the Iraqi Governing Council.

Spain commits itself fully to the efforts of the Iraqi people to achieve democracy, which is also an undertaking for the whole of the international community.

Having concluded my statement on behalf of the Spanish delegation, I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

The Security Council has thus concluded this stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 2.05 p.m.